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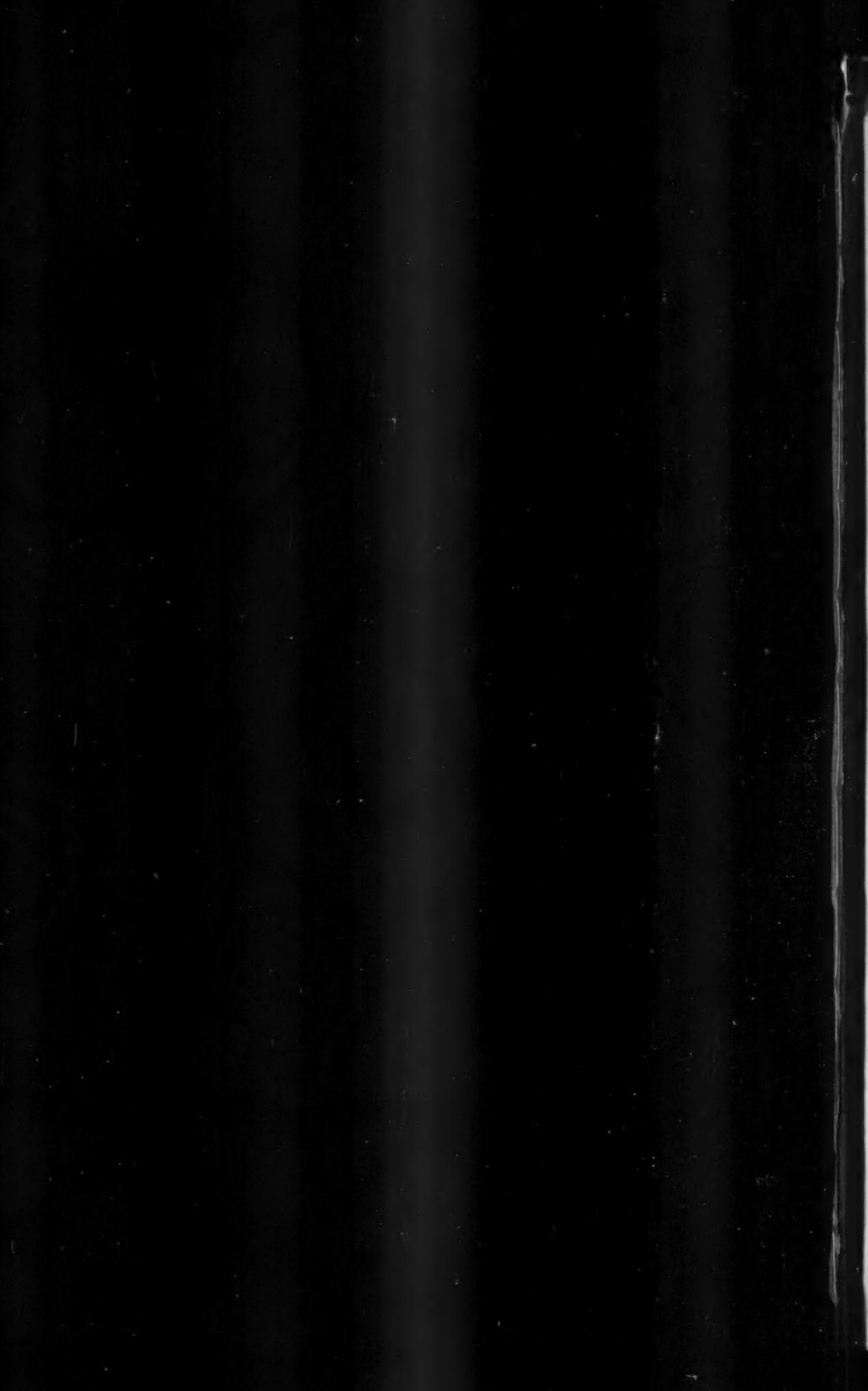
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## I.—QUINTILIAN OF CALAGURRIS.<sup>1</sup>

### AN ESSAY.

The noted Spaniard-Roman, to one who seriously and patiently and repeatedly traverses his entire *Institutio*, appears to belong to that class of writers, who, to quote Lessing's familiar apophthegm, would, if they were living, prefer to be praised less, and read more. An author as cyclopaedic as Quintilian either attracts or repels. Used more *per index*, he attracts by the vast total of data and notices and appreciations preserved for us, and treasured by us when in search of things not elsewhere to be found. But Quintilian also repels: classicists as a rule refuse to master the technology of Greco-Roman rhetoric as it has been pursued and in the main become settled in the long period of time from Pericles to Domitian. The belief is widely held that it is just scholastic lumber, which may be left to mould in manuals like Volkmann's or in the storehouses of the lexica. One may be familiar with Aristotle's three books, with the unique<sup>2</sup> treatise *περὶ ὑψους*, with the works (introductory and appreciative) of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with the entire range of Cicero's technical discourses from the *torso* of his early manhood, the Hermagorean half-finished treatise *de Rhetorica*, to the *Topica* of his penultimate year; one may then go beyond the elder Seneca, beyond Quintilian and Tacitus' *Dialogus*, and what is saved of the surveys of Suetonius, go on into the arid didactic compilations of Hermogenes, time of the

<sup>1</sup> Calagurris Julia Nassica, in the Tarragonensis of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> But still technical and didactic; v. E. G. Sihler in Proceedings of Am. Philol. Assn. for 1899.

Antonines, or to the slender monographs and *artes* of Halm's *Rhetores Minores*,<sup>3</sup> in the very eventide of the classical world, to Marius Victorinus of Julian's time, to Augustine in his pre-baptismal period, bringing us to Theodosius, last guardian of the Roman Empire. But among them all, Quintilian will always hold a very distinguished and peculiar place of his own. Here, too, I must not fail to mention with a sense of deep obligation the technological lexicons of J. Chr. T. Ernesti (Leipzig 1795 and 1797), then, Spalding's great edition in six volumes, begun in 1798 and concluded in 1834 by Bonnell, with the latter's incomparable concordance and index volume as a conclusion. For minor contributions like those of Meister see Bursian's *Jhb.* Fr. Blass wrote his monograph on Greek Eloquence in the period from Alexander to Augustus in 1865 when he was but twenty-two, a remarkable production.<sup>4</sup> One would look for more in Vol. I of Sandys's History of Classical Scholarship (Vol. I, 2nd ed. pp. 206-207) than the slender notes there found. I disagree with Sir John Sandys and also with Nettleship when they claim that young Tacitus in the *Dialogus* presented a freer, may I say a more autonomous, estimate of the dignity of Letters *per se* as over against their technical utilization by the *rhetor* and his pupils. The truth is, that the ancillary relation of the study of literature as a propaedeutic to Rhetoric is simply the essence of classic education, from Demetrius Phalereus on to the latest times, and this was again the practice and view of the Humanists, such as Filelfo, who combined (and consciously so) in their own careers the professions of the *grammaticus* and *rhetor*. To the estimates of Quintilian in the current manuals I can refer but briefly. Leo's lines on Quintilian are felicitous, sympathetic, beautiful. Schanz here, I believe, is (§§ 482-483) more searching and penetrating than Teuffel. Bernhardy, however, with the delicate felicity of his estimate, impresses me even more. Simcox (in his *Hist. of Lat. Lit.* Vol. I) has carried into his chapter on Quintilian an itch for dissent which reveals more of Simcox than of Quintilian. Mackail is greatly impressed with the survey of Greek and Roman Letters in B. X, which indeed seems the proper thing

<sup>3</sup> Leipzig, Teubner, 1863.

<sup>4</sup> He meekly repeated after Mommsen, that Cicero was no great orator. I say nothing further, for many were under that thrall.

to do or to be, as though there were a finality in many of those brilliant *sententiae*.<sup>6</sup> In Dimsdale one misses a firm grasp of Quintilian's work as a whole as well as a finer characterization of the man himself.

Going forward now to my own task, may I not take for granted as familiar the data derived from Quintilian himself, and from Martial, Juvenal (esp. VII, 197 sq.), Pliny's Letters, Ausonius, Jerome, as these are all set down in the current manuals. His father and perhaps his grandfather had been professional *rhetores* both in Spain and at the capital, I think. It was there that our Quintilian had been educated and begun life as *rhetor* and *patronus* both. When Galba quit the Tarraconensis in 68 A. D. to assume the purple of the principate he "took Quintilian along" (Jerome). Why? Hardly to function in publicity activities in Galba's interest. There were scores and scores of Rethores' schools in Rome at that time. More likely that Quintilian, as the most conspicuous *rhetor* in the Tarraconensis and so, too, often pleading as *patronus* before the Roman proconsul, gained his good will and respect. Clearly, too, Quintilian, whose ideals and convictions shrank from the Neronian capital, as long as it was Neronian, perhaps deemed it opportune, favored, as he was, by the good will of the new princeps, to open his school in the centre of affairs, in the new era expected under the stern and severe Galba. But after the swift passing of his patron and of Otho and Vitellius, Quintilian seems to have maintained himself under the Flavian dynasty. That he held the fiscal chair of Rhetoric to 88, or so, we know, though we are not able to say that the imperial stipend began in 68. Of course he was, even through the imperial stipend, distinguished and without a peer in that vast profession. (Vollmer, Rh. Mus. 46, 1891, pp. 343-348, "Die Abfassungszeit der Schriften Quintilians," suggests that we connect Quintilian, X 3, 17, "Silva" with Statius' preface to his *Silvae* B. 4, but this impresses me as far-fetched. Quintilian there refers plainly to rough notes of an advocate in preparing a case.) Quintilian's *Institutio*, begun under Domitian, in 88 A. D., is both a farewell to a profession as well as a survey of the same.

<sup>6</sup> Aristotle, I venture to say, is by no means antiquated. That great analyst deals with the fundamentals in his own incomparable way.

Of course, he would not have written the ultra-devotional passages referring to Domitian *after* September 18, 96. After, and I believe, in consequence of, publishing his first three books, Domitian had entrusted to him the superintendence of the education of the emperor's great-nephews (Quintilian IV, Pref. 2). The father of these young princes, Flavius Clemens, fell a victim of the emperor in 95 A. D. Clearly the twelve books of the *Institutio* were done and published before that time. Quintilian has, of course, been severely censured for abject servility, when he extolled the "iudicia coelestia" of the "sanctissimus censor." Here, by the by, I observe a confirmation or recognition of Domitian's favorite public character—as exhibited in his treatment of erring Vestals, his prosecution of unnatural vice, and other measures against decadence (Sueton. D. 8). It is easy to censure Quintilian, I say, but at that time it was simply impossible to refer to the last of the Flavians at all, in any publication, in any other way. Juvenal 4, 90: *Nec civis erat, qui libera posset verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero.* In the other passage in Quintilian (X 1, 92), where the triumphator "Germanicus" is extolled as a great *potential* poet, the oblation by the imperial beneficiary is even more unctuous, though not greatly differing from the apotheosis-incense sent up for Caesar's heir by Vergil and Horace. Nothing, indeed, pleased Domitian more than to tell him that he really made a present of the principate to Vespasian and Titus.<sup>8</sup> The patron of the Augustan poets, indeed, was a much better man. Domitian was consistent in his insistence on the emperor-cult, without any concern as to the reprobation of coming generations. Tacitus and Pliny accepted high preferment at his hands. Later, indeed, when it was quite safe to do so, the one wrote his *Agricola* and the other his *Panegyricus*, works which will damn the last Flavian for all time. *Au reste*, I do believe Quintilian was chosen as chief educator of the heirs apparent on account of his severe censure of current vice and luxury as we now read

<sup>8</sup> Sueton. *Dom.* 13, *Principatum adeptus neque in Senatu iactare dubitavit, et patri se et fratri deditisse.* Cf. Statius, *Silvae* I, 5 sqq.; *Thebais* I, 22 sqq. Domitian's enactments for moral reforms, Martial VI, 7, 22; II, 60; VI, 2; IX, 6, 8. Cf. Schiller, *Roem. Kaiserzeit* I, 2, pp. 532 sq., where the merits of Domitian are enumerated with great fairness.

these things.<sup>7</sup> We know that twice Domitian expelled the professional philosophers from the capital (once in 90 A. D. after the senatorial Stoics Rusticus, Helvidius, Senecio and others were executed or banished). I may mention Epictetus and Dio of Prusa. Literary works were burned; in fact, the trials for *maiestas* were mainly caused by books written by avowed Stoics among the Roman aristocracy. Students of Tacitus and the younger Pliny know with what warm sympathy these senators referred to those champions of freedom later on, and with what wise discretion, in their own public career, they abstained from any personal profession of Stoicism; they never joined the sect. Now Quintilian with unmistakable slur refers to professed or to professional philosophers: *Philosophiam ex professo . . . ostentantibus, parum decori sunt plerique orationis ornatus maximeque ex affectibus quos illi vitia dicunt* (the Stoics) . . . non convenient *barbae illi atque tristitiae* (XI 1, 33 sq.). But, on the other hand, the evidence in Quintilian's own work is conclusive, nay overwhelming, that his deeper convictions and sympathies in morals and ethical questions were simply *Stoic*. Let us see. The theory that moral judgment is innate in man and not (as the Epicureans held) something adventitious or a utilitarian product of experience: *modo nulla videatur aetas tam infirma quae non protinus quid rectum pravumque sit, discat* (I 3, 12; II 20, 6). The ideal Sage: *nam et Sapientem formantes eum, qui sit futurus consummatus undique et, ut dicunt, mortalis quidam deus*<sup>8</sup> (I 10, 5). Oratio, qua nihil praestantius homini dedit *providentia* (I 10, 7). Eius sectae, quae aliis severissima, aliis asperrima videtur (I 10, 15). He names it not. Of the higher aim of the advocate's profession: not fees, "sed ex animo suo et contemplatione et scientia petet perpetuum illum *nec fortunae subiectum* (I 12, 18). Dedit enim hoc *providentia* hominibus munus, *ut honesta magis iuvarent* (I 12, 19). Deus ille, parens rerum fabricatorque mundi (II 16, 12). *Rationem* igitur nobis praeci-  
puam dedit eiusque nos socios esse cum deis immortalibus voluit (II 16, 14). *Animus ille coelestis* (ib. 17). He cites Kleanthes

<sup>7</sup> E. g. I 2, 6: *Mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes etc., etc. . . . nostras amicas, nostros concubinos vident, omne convivium obscenis canticis strepit etc.* Cf. I 8, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Stob. Eclog. II 7. Seneca, Haase's Index, s. v. *Sapiens*.

on  $\tauέχνη$ <sup>9</sup> (*ars*). Oratory belongs to the category of the intermediate pursuits,<sup>10</sup> ethically considered: illa quaestio est maior: ex mediis artibus, quae neque laudari per se, nec vituperari possunt. . . . (the *άδιάφορα*), habenda sit rhetorice (II 20, 1). Zeno's comparison of logic and oratory with fist and open hand had long become the traditional property of the schools (II 20, 7). Rational speech an intrinsic endowment of man (this again an Anti-Epicurean thesis) III 2, 1. (Cf. Lucretius V 1026.) Corporis quidem *fortuitarumque* (III 7, 12). So, too, a little further on, in his theory of *laudatio* and enumeration of gifts: nam omnia quae extra nos bona sunt (τὰ μὴ ἐφ' οἷμαν of the Stoics) quaeque hominibus forte obtigerunt (III 7, 13). The Stoics (as above) are hostile to πάθη and so they eliminate *moveare* from the postulates of oratory: namque et affectus dupli ratione *excludendos* putabant<sup>11</sup> (V Prooem. 1, cf. XI 1, 33, above).

As to *Providence*: in quo inter Stoicos et Epicuri sectam secutos pugna perpetua (unbroken from the beginning) est: *regaturne providentia mundus* (V 7, 35). Or again a "Thesis": cum providentia mundus regatur, administranda est respublica (V 10, 14; repeated § 10, 89; XII 2, 21). Ut qui mundum nasci dicit, per hoc ipsum et deficere significet, quod deficit omne quod nascitur (V 10, 79).<sup>12</sup> Again, one of the fundamental and incessantly quoted tenets of the school: plurimi . . . magistrum respicientes *naturam ducem sequi*<sup>13</sup> desierunt (V 10, 101; VII 1, 40). In his bitter grief over his utter bereavement: nullam in terram despicere *providentiam* tester (Prooem. VI 4): non sum ambitiosus in malis: I do not desire to make a Stoic display of fortitude (ib. 7). His son's fine gifts: etiam illa *fortuita* aderant omnia (ib. 10). Again the antithesis of the two schools: an atomorum concursu mundus sit effectus? An providentia regatur? An sit aliquando casurus? (VII 2, 2). The antithesis of these schools in cosmology and theology (VII

<sup>9</sup> Diog. Laert. VII 174.

<sup>10</sup> Propterea ἔγκλιοι τέχναι etiam μέσαι ab iis nominabantur, Ritter et Preller, ed. Wellman 1913, no. 522 C.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps Chrysippus himself was meant; he wrote a treatise in four books, περ τῆς βητορικῆς, Diog. Laert. VII 201.

<sup>12</sup> Diog. Laert. VII 141.

<sup>13</sup> διολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ξῆν, Diog. Laert. VII 87.

3, 5). The size of the sun (VII 4, 1; 2, 6); number of worlds (ib.) ; of Cicero: dono quodam *providentiae* genitus (X 1, 108). He makes fun of the *εἰδωλα* in the Epicurean philosophy of perception (X 2, 15). Here, too, belongs the praise of Socrates, the incarnation of the ideal Sage (XI 1, 10 sqq.), and of Rutilius (ib. 12) and of the younger Cato<sup>14</sup> (XII 7, 4). But enough: he was in his deepest convictions a Stoic, though not in any public display or visible conformity. When, near the conclusion of his great work, he inquires as to a permanent moral code for the advocate and orator, what do we see? He rapidly enumerates *all* the sects and schools, but the Stoics are outlined last and with an unmistakable modicum of appreciation.

But to proceed. Quintilian gives a systematic and very thorough exposition of the traditional elements of rhetorical *τέχνη*<sup>15</sup> with very full and constant reference to those who contributed to it, even in minutiae; but much more important to the modern student, I take it, is his effort to establish or re-establish thorough study of Cicero as the exemplar of Roman oratory, and *pari passu* to carry on a running polemic against the "*causae corruptae eloquentiae*," against the decadence and decline from that standard. All this is, as we all know, a theme fairly identical with that of the *Dialogus* of young Tacitus, written, I am quite sure, under Vespasian. As to this famous and brilliant treatise,<sup>16</sup> there have been various theories, but most of us now are agreed, I believe, as to its main contentions. The freedom of debate and discussion of the Ciceronian era, which alone made great oratory possible, had passed away, all greater issues were now determined by the *princeps*: no more was there "*splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum*." Tacitus is well satisfied with the vanishing of the evils which were symptomatic of the decline

<sup>14</sup> Cf., on the same three Stoic saints, Seneca, *Ep. Moral.* 24.

<sup>15</sup> L. Spengel's study, "Die Definition und Eintheilung der Rhetorik bei den Alten," Rh. Mus. XVIII (1863), is still unexcelled, I believe, as a historical and technical survey (pp. 481-511).

<sup>16</sup> The amassing of erudition in Gudeman's noted edition, 1894, is known to us all and admitted, but it is somewhat excessive. Ed. Norden's suggestion to place the *Dialogus* in the post-Domitianic period of Tacitus impresses me as psychologically impossible (*Antike Kunstrprosa*, I, 1898, p. 325). The data concerning Maternus are too slender to permit generalizations as sweeping and positive as those which Norden makes.

and fall of the Republic, but he knows, too, that these very evils "ingenitem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant" (Dial. 37). After Actium political oratory certainly was narrowed or curbed: *maxime principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia alia pacaverat* (38), or: *cum de republica non imperiti et multi deliberent* (in the Senate) *sed sapientissimus et unus* (41). It is flattery but it is not sincere flattery.<sup>17</sup>

But, inasmuch as the decline and decadence of oratory was manifested in a peculiar and decisive way in and through the rhetors' schools in the capital itself, and since we possess a unique delineation of these schools in the old-age reminiscences of the Elder Seneca, it becomes impressively clear, that it was not merely the age of Nero or Domitian, but even that of Augustus and Tiberius, say from 31 B. C. to 37 A. D., in which this stunted and artificial eloquence was nourished, practiced and firmly established.<sup>18</sup> Both matter and manner were brought into Rome by Greek professionals, who of real political oratory, as a matter of experience or observation, knew simply—nothing. Even those Greeks who taught in Rome during Cicero's boyhood, seem to have used as their chief tools the *suasoriae* and *controversiae* as we find them in Marcus Seneca. A somewhat closer vision of schools, teachers and practice will surely equip us to follow Quintilian's censure and polemic with better judgment. In Cicero's Latin elaboration of Hermagoras, even, we have a purely Greek *controversia* (II 95):

"Ne quis Diana vitulum immolare. Nautae quidam, cum adversa tempestate in alto iactarentur, voverunt, si eo portu, quem conspiciebant, potiti essent, ei deo, qui ibi esset, se vitulum

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Tac. Ann. 12. While writing under Vespasian, in the *Dialogus*, Tacitus adjusted his convictions much more to his desire of advancement than later under Trajan, when freedom of speech was really secure. The sentence (Dial. 40): "magna illa et notabilis eloquentia, alumna licentiae quam stulti libertatem vocant," was, I believe, written for effect with Vespasian, upon whose favor every *cursus honorum* depended.

<sup>18</sup> One cannot fail to gain the conviction from the entire congeries of reminiscences (of the old man), memories interspersed and interlarded with a wealth of anecdote cropping up continually by way of association—one cannot, I say, fail to gain the conviction that Seneca depreciates the entire profession, its standards and performances, and it is really doubtful whether he was a professional himself.

immolatuos. Casu erat in eo portu fanum Dianaë eius, cui vitulum immolari non licebat. Imprudentes legis cum exissent, vitulum immolaverunt. Accusantur." Or II 144: "Qui tyrannum occiderit, Olympionicarum praemia capito" etc., etc. Or II 87.

As for the *suasoriae* in Seneca, such were always assigned to the beginners or Freshmen under the *declamatores*; these themes dealt altogether with the *deliberativum genus*; often they were what we should call somewhat large or pompous themes for lads from fourteen to sixteen years of age, themes hackneyed for generations: "Shall Alexander stop at the Okeanos?" Both Greek and Latin Rhetors handled precisely the identical themes and naturally their professional rivalry was keen and often bitter. Homer and Virgil were brought in, or dragged in, wherever possible or half possible. Another: The Three Hundred at Thermopylae deliberate whether they shall stay or withdraw. Or: Agamemnon at Aulis: Shall I sacrifice Iphigenia? Or: Alexander at Babylon: Shall I enter? Or: Shall the Athenians remove their Persian trophies or not? Shall Cicero beg mercy of Antony? Very few *rhetores* in their class-rooms dared to insult his memory (*Suas. VI 42*). Now as to the *Controversiae*: they were meant to be concrete exercises in the *genus iudiciale*, problems before a jury, in law and litigation, on the face of them,—but they were so desperately artificial (nay impossible), that their value as genuine preparation for pleading<sup>19</sup> in court was nil. These "cases" were so devised that the work of argumentation *pro* and *contra* was fairly equally or evenly plausible or pleadable, may I say. The "facts" were generally so builded, that, while wildly improbable in themselves, they furnished a large field for *náthos*, while argumentation, to be telling or novel, was driven to the *ne plus ultra* often of frigid sophistry. One example must suffice: "He who apprehends an adulterer with his own faithless wife, provided he slays both, shall be guiltless." (Generally a statute leads off.) Now a gallant soldier had lost his hands in war. He comes upon an adulterer with his own wife, by whom he had had a son: he ordered the son to kill (the guilty pair). The son failed to do so. The paramour made good his escape. He (the handless man) dis-

<sup>19</sup> Especially in the Centumviral Courts, where all testamentary litigation was had.

owns the son (I Contr. 4). This specimen is typical, and is as good or as bad as any other. The motives of the chief character for doing or not doing are balanced with the utmost nicety. These themes were handed down, perhaps from the initiative of Demetrius Phalereus (Blass, Gr. Ber. in dem Ztalter. etc. 1865, p. 58), for centuries, unchanged and unchangeable. Not only the pupils in the schools declaimed on them, but the *rhetores* or *declamatores* themselves delivered pleas before an imaginary jury on these *controversiae*, as a rule before the parents and friends of their pupils or other invited guests. How could genuine pleader's faculty be here revealed or developed? The really instructive part, for the students, was in the *quaestiones*; the points chosen for argumentation, points legal or purely logical, or moral, or purely psychological were elucidated by the professor—whether before or after his own declamatio, is not quite clear to us. Somewhat distinct from this were the *colores* (*χρώματα*). The declamator chose and impersonated one of the chief characters in the given *controversia*. The "color" (with which a great part of M. Seneca's reminiscences is occupied) was the general attitude or treatment, rendering as plausible and reasonable as possible the pleading determined upon in the character assumed, often in the task of justifying or glorifying the *motive* for action or non-action.<sup>20</sup> The point then that I am here urging is this: The rhetorical schools of the period of Augustus-Tiberius differed little, if at all, from the Neronian period as Petronius (I 4 Buecheler) describes them: the judgment of that keen observer could have been penned by Quintilian himself some quarter-century later. Petronius, with keen satire, seized and presented the faults and deep defects of the rhetorical schools, but also with fair condemnation. He intimates that the teachers are simply forced by their pupils to declaim upon these impossible themes, and that the *rhetores* would have empty class-rooms if they did otherwise. The fathers must share in the fault. One may take Petronius as an introduction to the reformatory design of Quintilian. Like M. Seneca, he calls teachers and pupils *scholastici*. Juvenal, in the generation after Quintilian, had been through the profession and was indeed quite through with it. We all know that his *satirae* were really

<sup>20</sup> Juvenal VI 280: dic aliquem, sodes, hic, Quintiliane, colorem.

versified *declamationes*; see especially 7, 150 sqq. To him Quintilian is the type of the supremely *lucky* rhetor, while Remmius Palaemon stands for the supremely lucky *grammaticus*. The Greeks led in the profession. Caesar and Augustus distinguished Apollodorus the rhetor; Tiberius, from his Rhodian sojourn on, similarly singled out Theodorus. Cicero always gave the strongest professional preference to Greek teachers, such as *Paionios* (ad Quintum Fratr. III 3, 4)<sup>21</sup> and refers to him as an adept in "*illo declamatorio genere*." M. Seneca never seems to have asked himself, why these Greeks *could not* bring any genuine *political* eloquence to the capital. Of course they could not. Their professional primacy seems to have been universally admitted, though bitterly endured, by the Latin teachers. M. Seneca always cites them much more briefly and, as a rule, after the Latin teachers. One may fairly conclude from M. Seneca that these Greek professors competed mainly with one another, but that they at the same time set the standard for their Latin fellow-professionals. The Roman observer from the colony of Corduba expresses his preference: his special compatriots, like Latro, Gallio, Turrinus, clearly hold his warmest affection. He records with great satisfaction, when a turn by Albucius of Novara outshines or overtakes the Greeks (*praeminet Graecos*, I Contr. 4, 12). Augustus himself sometimes listened to a Greek, but only in December; with him appeared Maecenas and sometimes gave a hint to a declamator to shorten his discourse (so to Latro, Contr. II 4, 13). Even Agrippa sometimes sat in an auditorium. Not one of the score or more of the Greek rhetores is assigned to Athens by Seneca, although there was a conscious display (much of it, I believe, in *delivery*) of the difference between the "Attic" and "Asianic" manner (X 5, 21). Seneca's sympathies sometimes find vent in an angry phrase, as "*insolenti Graeciae*" (I Prooem. 6). The fact is that M. Seneca of Corduba under Augustus-Tiberius was a Ciceronian of deep conviction, just as was Quintilian of Calagurris under the Flavian dynasty: "*quicquid Romana facundia habet, quod insolenti Graeciae aut opponat aut praferat, circa Ciceronem effloruit; omnia ingenia quae lucem studiis nostris attulerunt, tum nata sunt.*" Then came the decadence: nihil

<sup>21</sup> Cf. E. G. S. ΘΕΤΙΚΩΤΕΡΟΝ, Am. J. Ph. 1902, pp. 282 sqq.

enim tam mortiferum ingenii quam luxuria est; then Seneca, in a somewhat veiled and impersonal way, comes upon the *delatores*, who could be no other than those of Tiberius' later years: sive, cum praemium pulcherrimae rei cecidisset, translatum est omne certamen *ad turpia multo honore quaestuque vigentia* (cf. Tac. Ann. IV 30). Even Pollio, the proudest orator of the Augustan period, sometimes appeared in the school-rooms and not merely as a condescending patron and critic: once he listened to his grandson declaiming, and after a detailed criticism of his own, declaimed in the negative himself (IV Praef. 3).

But Seneca, too, puts his finger on the very genetic point of what to him and Quintilian, too, was *corrupta eloquentia*: Memini Oscum cum loqueretur *de hoc genere sententiarum, quo infecta iam erant adolescentorum ingenia*, queri de Publilio (Syro), quasi ille iam hanc insaniam introduxisset (VII 3, 8). These pithy, pointed, pregnant passages were the *sine qua non*, by which the professors gained or maintained their professional standing. These sententiae were quoted about the capital (circumferebantur); they were considered gems with which speeches or history could be adorned. I have no space to illustrate the matter at length. Collections of a rhetor's *sententiae* were published, as Latro's (II 3, 18). From such Ovid cribbed heavily (II 2, 8). There were chronic animosities about these things. Language and literature (as between the *recitationes* of the aristocracy and the *declamationes* in the schools) were really running to seed. Of course, the wonderful Lucius Seneca did not introduce nor originate the *sententia*, though he was no doubt the incomparable exemplar of it, and dwelled apart. We may assume that Quintilian's insistence on the study of Cicero was rather limited to his own class-room; he, and he alone, could afford to defy the prevailing mode. Now his *Institutio*, in its wide sweep and comprehensive survey of the work of some five centuries, may fairly be called a *συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν*. Need I say that in him (as in all his class) there was a bilingual consciousness? So in terminology. The historical survey in every school-room had to begin with the types exemplified by Nestor, Menelaus, Odysseus,<sup>22</sup> including Pericles, and down to Demos-

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Pliny, Epp. I 20.

thenes de *Corona*. We marvel how Porcius Latro fared here: "Graecos enim et contemnebat et ignorabat" (X 4, 21). It is noticeable that Quintilian, while freely admitting the practical superiority and the originality of Greek *termini technici*, endeavors where possible to append Latin equivalents. I have gathered from his practice very many instances: there is space here for a few only: *vocalitas*, *εὐφωνία* (I 5, 4); *accentus*, *προσῳδία* (I 5, 22); *ovicia*, *essentia* (III 6, 23); illa *sequentia*, *παρεπόμενα* (V 10, 75); ex *circumstantia*, quia *περίστασιν* aliter dicere non possumus (V 10, 104); *ἵθος* he tries to latinize or define as "*morum quaedam proprietas*" (VI 2, 9). He refers to Latin authors of *artes* who thus evidently strove to emancipate Latin schools from Greek domination, authors of his own time to whom he never refers by name, but only as *quidam* or *nonnulli*. My impression is that he cited these Latin equivalents in a tentative way, but not as his own. He never even tries to latinize *grammaticē* or *rhetoricē* or *dialecticē*; nor *tropos*, as a rule. Clearly the Greek terms were the current tool of the *scholasticus*, whether Greek or Roman.

As for Quintilian's personal and professional erudition, it was large and sweeping, larger than that of his Greek fellow-teachers, who could afford to ignore the Latin side. Quintilian was, we must not forget it, the visible and envied head of a great profession. Now in this fusion of personal erudition and culture with the technical postulates of his profession, Quintilian neither sought any display of learning nor did he affect an independence or indifference to the same, which would have been both impossible and absurd. Indeed, he strives to guide the present and to instruct the future teachers of eloquence, and this, too, while he himself classifies himself as a "*declamator*" (IX 2, 83). We are all familiar with the comparative survey of the ten classes of letters (X 1). Fully equipped with all the lore of the *grammaticus*, the *rhetor*, with his study of, and incessant perfectioning of himself in, *argumentatio*, had to traverse a very positive amount of philosophy, often beginning with Cicero's famous introductory and hortatory discourse, the *Hortensius*. Incidentally, Quintilian cites the Pythagorean Archytas (I 10, 17); Pericles and the Eclipse (I 10, 47); Plato's range of culture (I 12, 15); the γραφὴ παρανόμων at Athens (II 4, 33); the average *rhetor* is not familiar enough with Plato's *Gorgias* (II

15, 24); a point of general agreement between Stoics and Peripatetics (II 17, 2). Quintilian is thoroughly familiar with Aristotle's Rhetoric, he cites also the Stagirites' Dialogue *Gryllos* with an "ut solet" (II 17, 14). In all of book III, especially in the discussion of *Status* (*στάσις*) he drew heavily on Hermagoras directly. The ten Aristotelian categories are presented entirely (III 6, 23). Now the Greek rhetor, as I said before, could complacently and successfully ignore the Latin side, but the Roman rhetor, to be first-class, had to make fairly *all* the Greek range a professional achievement, and be prepared to teach it. As for Quintilian's survey in X 1, I cannot share the traditional enthusiasm of classicists: it is all to make *φράσις*, or *copia verborum*, for the orator, a rather narrow mould to hold great letters in. Archilochus, e. g., furnishes *breves vibrantesque sententiae* (X 1, 60), so does Pindar. His critique of Seneca is familiar; I have no sympathy with it. I mean, of course, the prose works of the mature Seneca, not the declamatory monologues in the so-called tragedies of his youth. As for imitating a Seneca! Of course, the step from imitation (would-be imitation) to mannerism is a short and sure one. Oratory, nay the production of all letters, was turned into a show (whether in *schola* or *forum* or in a *recitatio*) and the hyper-emotional effects of the conclusions were quasi-operatic, or quite histrionic (cf. Plin. Epp. II 14, with the paid *cliques*): "*sententiolisne flendum erit*"? (XI 1, 52); "*rasas fauces ac latus fatigatum deformi cantico reficere* (XI 3, 13); *vitium . . . quo nunc maxime laboratur in causis omnibus scholisque, cantandi* (XI 3, 57). He makes the Greeks responsible for some related abuses (XI 3, 103).<sup>23</sup> The schools have emasculated genuine eloquence: they desire to furnish *pleasure* merely (V 12, 17 sqq.). The *declamationes*, which should be like the drill with buttoned foils for preparing for actual battles (in the courts), remind Quintilian of the effeminate beauty of young slaves castrated by the dealers with commercial design. Now the *sententia* has indeed its proper place and function: "*dum rem contineant et copia non redundant et ad victoriam spectent, quis utile neget?*

<sup>23</sup> I append the more important references dealing with the *sententiae* and other excrescences which he combats: I 8, 9; II 4, 31; 11, 3; 12, 7 sqq.; IV 1, 53; 3, 2-3; V 2, 17; 12, 31; 13, 37; VI 4, 6; VII 1, 14; 1, 44; VIII 5 (the entire chapter); XI 1, 52; XII 9, 3; 10, 48.

Feriunt animum et uno ictu impellunt et ipsa brevitate magis haerent et delectatione persuadent (XII 10, 48) : admirably put certainly. Quintilian himself penned some admirable ones, of which I have made a collection; here I must be content to transcribe but a few: "ut operum fastigia spectantur, latent fundamenta (Prooem. I 4); frequens imitatio transit in mores (I 11, 3); quid aliud agimus docendo eos quam ne docendi semper sint? (II 5, 13); and the famous one familiar to scholars everywhere: ex quo mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur, aliqua nescire (I 8, 21); *ambitiosum gloriandi genus est etiam deridere* (XI 1, 22); a dictum of keenest psychological penetration, which, coupled with great moral earnestness, constitutes one of the salient characteristics of Quintilian's personality: *nemo nisi sua culpa diu dolet* (Prooem. VI 13). On the *will* in study: studium discendi *voluntate*, quae cogi non potest, constat (I 3, 8). He knows how sovereign are the *emotions* in the pleader's profession, and he also analyzes with consummate penetration the real sway of them, viz., the faculty of making remote soul-contents present and real by the creation of mental images of the same (VI 2, 3). As a masterful psychologist, Quintilian was indeed independent of (however familiar with) manuals<sup>24</sup> and systems. And he was also an expert pleader: You must not overload the juror with an excess of argumentation; you will weary him and impair your credit with him (V 12, 8); the task of the defender (*patronus*) is vastly more difficult than that of the *accusator* (VII 2, 35-36); *patronus neget, defendat, transferat*,<sup>25</sup> excusat, deprecetur, molliat, minuat, avertat, despiciat, derideat (V 13, 2). What line to choose before the emperor, what before a jury (ib. 6-7). Indeed it is the court and the soundness of the pleader's professional conduct — not merely his preparation — which Quintilian has in mind, what kind of man the actual advocate should be, his service in court, faults there which Quintilian passes on in detail and severely, a rigid review and censure which no mere *declamator* of that time in the capital would have been competent to make, nay which he would not have dared to publish, for it is the practical results of the schools which Quintilian

<sup>24</sup> Quae quidem non aliquo tradente, sed *experimento meo ac natura ipsa* (this again in the Stoic vein) duce accepi VI 2, 25.

<sup>25</sup> The status *translationis* in Hermagoras.

condemns, and not merely *obiter* (in XII 8); he also deals with the fee-system then prevailing<sup>26</sup> (XII 7, 3).

It is indeed a remarkable work, this *Institutio*, attending the orator from the cradle to forum and Senate: but there remains one question, a very incisive question: Was the critical and combative purpose stronger in his mind, or was it the constructive design of the whole? This is one of the *imponderabilia* of historical research. No comfortable and impressive summarization is quite safe here. "Non enim doceo, sed admoneo docturos" (I 4, 17). The detailed notes on language and grammar in book I are merely reminders to the current grammatici to deepen their scholarship: *grammaticos officii sui commonemus* (I 5, 7). His general aim is not merely to condense or repeat manuals and monographs, nor to add a new *ars* to the vast total of *artes* extant, but to train the future orator by having him pattern after the great exemplars of eloquence, by concrete study of their texts. He has before his mind *the ideal orator*: *noster orator* II 17, 23; the *consummatus orator* II 19, 1. After all, great eloquence preceded the theories thereof (V 10, 120). Beware of relying on technical books! He knows the Apollo-doreans, the Theodoreans, the Hermagoreans; he is familiar with manuals and monographs, such as those of Celsus, Cornificius, the older Gallio, Laenas, Virginius, the elder Pliny, Tutilius; but: "neque me cuiusquam sectae (clearly they all had followers) velut quadam superstitione imbutus addixi" (III 1, 22); contemporary specialists, as I suggested before, must be content with being referred to as *quidam, alii, nonnulli*, sometimes *plerique*; or *putant*, or, in dissent, *illi subtile magistri* (XII 10, 51).

Shall we call his most cherished ideal Ciceronianism? I should not like to put it in so simple and convenient a term. Personally, he did not essay the graces of symmetrical periods. He sought no mere rehabilitation of a manner. Brutus, Calvus, Pollio, had abandoned Cicero's leadership in the latter stage of the Arpinate's career. The *scholastici* of the elder Seneca's time seem to have cared little for Cicero any more. But the teacher from Calagurris was indeed an expert in Cicero; he

\* Add I 12, 18, stip*s* advocationum. For other data revealing Quintilian as a pleader, cf. V (the entire book), VII 1, 63; VII 4, 11; VI 2, 5; VII 4, 11; XII 5, 5-6.

certainly owed the best he was and his very essence as a leading, as *the* leading, teacher of oratory in Rome, to this being imbued with Cicero, not only with the orations, but the theoretical treatises as well, from the half-finished *ars* of Cicero's early years, to the *Topica*, near the sunset of his career. As for the speeches, Quintilian made most didactic use of the Cluentiana, Ligariana, Milonian, the Verrines; in a second class we may put the Corneliana (lost), the pro Caelio, the pro Murena, the pro Oppio (lost), the Philippics, the pro Vareno (lost). In his own vernal or germinative period, in his first sojourn at Rome, Quintilian was acquainted with the eminent Ciceronian scholar Asconius Pedianus (I 7, 24). Quintilian's great exemplar during that earlier residence at Rome, never a preceptor (for D. A. was a senator of praetorian rank in 26 A. D., before Quintilian was born, v. Tac. Ann. IV 52), *Domitius Afer* of Nemausus in the Narbonensis, must have been a Ciceronian, otherwise he would not have made the impression on Quintilian which he actually did. And I hold it more than probable, that those who studied oratory then in Spain, Gaul, Africa, not obsessed as they were by the morbid competition of the *scholastici* of the capital, sought their models and authority in the great Roman orators of the Ciceronian era. Quintilian had examined autographic data or readings in Ciceronian and Virgilian mss. in Rome (e. g. we may assume in the Palatine library: *quo modo et ipsum et Vergilium scripsisse manus eorum docent* (I 7, 20)). Caesar is often referred to, without any genuine citation, however, from his works; Pollio's four orations are cited a few times; of Corvinus Messala, a single speech; of Caelius or Curio, nothing material. These, with Cicero at their head, were the *antiqui* of Quintilian and of Tacitus' *Dialogus*. Quintilian's grasp of their individual characters was evidently keen but they were merely satellites around the ruling sun. Of course, imitation *per se* is already a form of decline: "nunquam par fit imitator auctori" says the elder Seneca. The *Dialogus* of Tacitus may fairly be conceived as Quintilian *en miniature*, as every careful student of both has felt. There was then a current distaste for Cicero: ille "durus et ineruditus, at nos melius (than Cicero) quibus sordet omne quod natura dictavit qui non ornamenta quaerimus, sed *lenocinia* (VIII Pro. 26). The *recitationes* among the *lauti*, and the long established practice

of the *scholastici* had done their work for more than a century; a genuine return to classic standards such as Quintilian wrought for so earnestly, was probably never attained. The younger Pliny's letters we know: hardly one without some quotable *sententia*, and as for the last great classic among Roman prose writers, Tacitus himself, what do we see? Are not those brilliantly epigrammatic dicta, whether in the inserted oratory of his historical characters, or as they betoken the profundity of his almost uncanny psychological divination, are they not to all of us a veritable *κτῆμα ἐσ ἀεὶ?*

As for the deep antipathy of Quintilian for L. Seneca of Corduba, there is one citation chosen by Quintilian concerning which I cannot shake off the impression that it was made with design; it was taken from that awful performance of Nero's teacher and guide when the latter prostituted his rare *ingenium* to furnish a "color" for the recent act of the matricide in the villa of the dowager at Bauli: "qualis est Senecae in eo scripto quod Nero ad senatum misit occisa matre, cum se periclitatum videri vellet: "Salvum me esse adhuc nec credo nec gaudeo" (Quintilian VIII 5, 18). It is the only literal citation from that author, and it is an indictment in itself.

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## II.—NAMES OF STINGING, GNAWING, AND RENDING ANIMALS.

### PART I.

Did the IE. mother-tongue utter certain vocables which henceforth became the sacrosanct names of various objects and phenomena? Such at least seems to be the childishly naive theory that underlies the attempts of many etymologists to combine synonymous words wherever their ingenuity can devise a way. No one advocates this theory, it is true. But what other possible reason can there be for making such preposterous combinations as are found under Lat. *anguis*, *formica*, *lens* ‘nit,’ *pulex*, *talpa*, etc?

As to the ultimate origin of the words here discussed I am not concerned. But it is a fact, and not a theory, that wherever a word standing for the name of anything can really be explained, it will be found to be a descriptive term. As long as a word has the same meaning in all languages it remains unexplained except in its phonetic changes. But any word as such is explained if its meaning is transparent or is made clear. For example, the word *crook*, used of a dishonest person, is self-explanatory and needs no further elucidation. But *hand*, *foot*, *horse*, *fish*, *bear* are not explained until we know the antecedent descriptive term.

It is just because the names of various objects in nature: trees, plants, animals, minerals, were primarily descriptive terms that we find so many words for the same object. For the idea is the real word, not the particular vocable that may be used at any time or place to express it. Our search should therefore be for this underlying idea.

In the following article I have considered mainly insects, worms, and larger animals that are described as stinging, biting, boring, gnawing, rending. Transparent compounds like *stechfliege*, *gadfly* are omitted, as also are words for bee, wasp, hornet not described as ‘stingers.’

1. Skt. *aliḥ*, *ali* ‘bee’: *ārā* ‘awl’, OHG. *āla* ‘Ahle, Pfriem’, *alansa* id., ON. *alr* ‘awl’: *álr* ‘eel’ (named from its shape), OE. *æl*, OHG. *äl* ‘eel.’ Fick III<sup>4</sup>, 26.

2. Gr. δέλλιθες · σφῆκες, ἡ ζῶν ὅμοιον μελίσση Hes.: βελόνη 'arrow-head, point, needle: a kind of fish,' Lith. *gelonis* 'sting (of a bee or wasp),' *gélti* 'sting, smart.' J. Schmidt KZ. 32, 323.

3. NPers. *eng-* 'bee' (Horn 124): OE. *anga* 'prickle, sting, goad,' *angel* 'fish-hook,' ON. *ange* 'Spitze, Zacke,' NIcel. *angi* 'small twig, sprout,' OHG. *ango*, *angul* 'Stachel, Spitze, Fischangel,' NHG. Alem. *angel* 'Bienenstachel,' *angelmücke* 'Stachelmücke,' base \**enegrh-* in Gr. ἔγχος 'spear, lance,' ἔγχειν 'eel,' Lat. *anguilla* id., *angulus* 'corner, point,' Skt. ághnyah (cornutus) 'steer,' ághnyā 'cow': *angrih* 'foot,' Lat. *unguis*, *ungula*, Gr. ὄνυξ 'nail, claw,' Ir. *inga* 'nail,' OHG. *nagal* id., etc. Compare \**eng-* in Skt. ágram 'point, tip, peak,' *aṅgūliḥ* 'digitus, finger, toe,' etc.

4. Gr. ἀνθρήνη, ἀνθρηδών 'a wild bee' and τενθρήνη, τενθρηδών 'wasp' are supposed to be derivatives of a base \**dthren-* 'hum, drone' in θρώναξ · κηφήν, OE. *drān* 'drone,' OS. *drāno*, OHG. *treno* id., etc. This is, of course, possible. For the bee is sometimes designated as 'the hummer, buzzer,' as in Gr. πεμφρηδών 'a kind of wasp,' Skt. *bambharah* 'bee': *bhrámati* 'whirl, whir,' *bhramarah* 'bee,' OHG. *bremo* 'gadfly,' *breman* 'buzz, grumble,' etc. But ἀνθρηδών may be referred to ἀθήρ 'beard or spike of corn, ear; point or barb of a weapon,' ἀθέριξ 'beard on grain, ear; stalk.' Similarly τενθρηδών may be derived from τένθω, τένδω 'gnaw, nibble,' Lat. *tondeo*.

5. Gr. ἐπύρις 'mosquito, gnat,' OHG. *imbi* 'swarm of bees,' \**empiós*, a collective noun, root \**emp-* 'stick, thrust.' Compare Germ. *imp-* perhaps from \**impp-*, in OE. *impa* 'shoot, graft,' *impian* 'graft; refl. be engaged in,' OHG. *impfōn* 'impfen, pfropfen,' *impitōn, impfitōn* id.

6. Gr. δάρδα · μέλισσα Hes. is compared by Berneker I, 254 with Bulg. *dürdöřü* 'plaudere, schwatze; murre, brumme,' etc., which is quite possible. But it may equally well be referred to Czech *drdati* 'rupfen, abrupfen,' *drdy* 'Reissen'; OE. *teart* 'sharp, severe' (pain), NE. *tart* 'sharp to the taste; sharp, cutting' (language), dial. *teart* 'painful': Gr. δέρω, etc.

7. OHG. *bia, bian, bini* 'Biene,' OE. *bēo* (\**bīwan-*) 'bee,' etc.; Ir. *bech* (\**bhigo-*) 'bee,' OBulg. *bīčela* id.; Lith. *bitis*

'bee': root \**bhei-* \**bhi-* 'cut, bite' in OBulg. *biti* 'schlagen,' iter. *u-bivati*, *u-bijati*, Ir. *benim* (\**bhindāmi*) 'schneide, schlage,' OHG. *bihal* 'Beil' (\**bhiglo-* : *bičela*), OBulg. *biči* 'Geissel,' OE. *bill* 'sword' (\**bhitlo-* or \**bhilno-*), *bile* 'bill, beak,' *bitan* 'bite,' *bitel* 'beetle.'

8. But Lat. *fūcus* 'drone,' Russ. *búčenī* 'bumblebee, Hummel,' OBulg. *bučela* 'bee': Russ. *bučát'* 'buzz, hum (of bees)' are semantically entirely different. Perhaps here belongs OE. *bēaw* 'gadfly,' Germ. \**bauwa-* from \**bhouq#o-*.

9. Lat. *apis* 'bee' may be an Oscan or Umbrian loanword from an original \**aķuis* 'sharp, stinging': Lat. *aqui-* 'sharp, pointed' in *aquifolius* 'having pointed leaves: ilex, holly,' *acus* 'needle; a kind of fish.'

Or *apis* 'bee' and *apex* 'point, tip' may come from a base \**api-* 'sharp point, tip,' which may be in OE. *efete* 'newt,' pre-Germ. \**apidon* (or \**abh-*, *obh-*). With \**ap-*, *op-* 'sharp, pointed' compare \**ab-* in Lat. *abies* 'fir,' Gr. ἄβιν· ἐλάτην, οἱ δὲ πεύκην Hes. (cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, 4), to which add Gr. ἄβεις · ἔχεις Hes.

10. Lat. *crābro* 'hornet' from \**kr̥srō*, Lith. *szirszū*, *szirszlýs* 'wasp,' *szirszonē* 'hornet,' OBulg. *sriša* 'wasp,' *srišení* 'hornet, gadfly,' Du. *horzel* 'hornet,' OE. *hyrnet*, OHG. *hornaz* id., etc., base \**kerəs* 'point, sting': Skt. *çírah* 'Spitze, Kopf,' with which compare *çíriṣah* (thorn) 'acacia sirissa,' Gr. κέρας 'horn,' κεράστης 'horned: a horned serpent; an insect which destroys figs,' etc. Cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, 197 with lit.

11. Gr. σφήξ, Dor. σφάξ 'wasp,' σφηκός 'wasp-like,' σφηκώ 'bind in (like a wasp),' σφηκεῖον 'a venomous spider,' σφηκίας, σφηκίσκος 'a pointed stick or stake.' These indicate a Gr. base σφᾶ-, probably IE. \**sphāq-*, denoting something sharp or pointed, and fall in line with many other IE. bases \**sphax-*, *sphex*, *sphix-* with similar meaning.

12. Serb.-ChSl. *čapi* 'bee': Bulg. *čavam* 'picke,' Slov. *čapati* 'schnappen,' Czech *čapati* 'schnipsen, ergreifen,' Serb.-Cr. *čapati* 'an sich reissen,' *čapak* 'Klaue, Kralle,' Lett. *k'epa* 'Tatze, Bärentatze,' *k'epť* 'mit den Klauen anpacken, haften,' *k'epéť* 'schröpfen,' *kapát* 'hacken, hauen,' refl. 'sich umher-reissen, sich zanken; sich abmühen, abarbeiten,' Lith. *kapóti* 'kleinhauen, -packen,' *këpszteréti* 'einmal leicht zuhauen oder

zuschlagen,' O Bulg. *kopije* 'Lanze, Schwert,' Russ. *kopijo* 'Lanze, Spiess,' Gr. κόπτω 'strike, hit, cut, chop, cut small, hack; peck, strike with the beak, perforate (of birds), eat (of insects); tire, weary,' κοπίς 'chopper, cleaver, curved knife; the sting of a scorpion,' κάπτω 'snap at, eat greedily,' Lat. *capio*, *cēpi* 'seize, take,' Goth. *hafts* 'behaftet mit,' *haftjan* 'sich heften' (but not *hafjan* 'heben'), MDu. *happen* 'apprehendere, arripere, corripere, celeriter rapere, prendere, capere' (Kil.), EFris. *happen* 'schnappen, beissen, essen,' etc. (cf. Koolman Ostfr. Wb. s. v.), Hess. *habe* 'Granne; Fischgräte,' *hebe*, *hiebe* 'Granne; Dorn.'

13. OE. *wæfs*, *wæsp* 'wasp,' OHG. *wafsa*, *wefsa*, Lat. *vespa*, O Pruss. *vobse* id., Lith. *vapsa* 'gadfly,' IE. \**uopsa*, Lith. *vābalas* 'Käfer, beetle,' root \**ueb-* 'cut, stick': Goth. *wēpn* 'weapon,' OE. *wæpen* id., etc. Compare \**uep-* in Skt. *vápati* 'schert, grast ab.'

14. Skt. *sūcīkah* 'a stinging insect': *sūcī* 'needle, sharp point'; *sūcīmukhah* 'a kind of bird or insect': *sūcīmukham* 'needlepoint.'

15. Skt. *sarāgh-*, *sarāghā*, *saraṭ* 'bee' may be derived from a root \**serē* 'sharp' in the following: Skt. *srñih* 'sickle,' *srñih* 'elephant-goad,' Lat. *sario* 'hoe,' *serra* 'saw,' *sarpo*, *sarpio* 'trim, prune,' Gr. ἄρπη 'sickle; elephant-goad; a bird of prey,' O Bulg. *srüpü*, Lett. *sirpe* 'sickle,' OHG. *sarf*, *sarpf* 'scharf, rauh, acer, asper, scaber, acerbus, austerus, severus, wild, grausam, saevus, dirus' (cf. Schade Ahd. Wb. 744; Walde<sup>2</sup>, 679). Compare also Dor. πατίς, Att. παφίς (\**srpid-*) 'needle, pin,' πάπτω 'stitch, stitch together, sew: link together, unite; devise, contrive, plot.' Here also probably Lat. *sero* join or bind together, interweave, plait; arrange, contrive, primarily 'stitch, stitch together.'

To the same root may belong Lith. *srēda* 'Spahn'; *sroklys* 'die Pinne oder Nadel an der Schnalle,' Skt. *srkāḥ* 'lance,' *sraktih* 'point, corner'; Lith. *sragus* (scharf) 'grimmig, grausam,' Goth. *saurga* (*acerbitas*) 'Sorge, Kummer,' OHG. *sorga*, *sworga* id. (with *w* from *swārī* 'Schwere, Gewicht; Schmerz, Kummer'), Lat. *frāgrāre* (\**sṛghrā-* or \**srāghrā-* 'sharpness, pungency') 'smell; reek' (but not *frāgum* 'strawberry'), Gr. πάχις (\**sraghis*) 'spine, backbone, back, ridge of a mountain;

sharp projection on the shoulder-blade,' *ράχος*, Ion. *ρῆχός* 'thorn-bush, briar; thorn-stick; thorn-hedge; wild-olive tree': Skt. *sarāgh-* 'bee.' For this combination of meanings compare Lat. *mordēre* 'bite; nip, sting (of cold or heat); sting, grieve,' NE. *smart*, NHG. *schmerzen*, Lett. *smirdēt* 'riechen; stinken,' etc. (cf. author Pub. MLA. XIV [1899] 320; Fick III\*, 527).

16. Skt. *daçah* 'bite: gadfly,' *dáçati* 'bite,' Gr. δάκνω 'bite, sting, esp. of dogs and gnats,' δάκος 'bite, sting: an animal of which the bite or sting is dangerous, a snake, any noxious animal, esp. a beast of prey,' δάκετον 'a stinging, poisonous animal.'

17. Skt. *mákṣah* 'fly,' *mákṣikā* 'fly, bee,' Av. *maχši-* 'fly, gnat'; Skt. *mákulih* 'a kind of snake,' *mákarah* 'a sea-monster; a certain insect,' *makē-rukah* 'a parasitic worm' (for *-rukah* see No. 50), ChSl. *mečika* 'Bär, Bärin': OHG. *meči* 'sword'; Gr. μάκελλα, *μακέλη* 'spade, mattock'; Goth. *mēkeis* 'sword,' Lat. *macto* 'cut, slay.'

18. Skt. *maçakah* 'stinging fly, gnat,' Lith. *maszalaī* 'gnats or flies; vermin': Russ. *mosolit'* 'torment, tease, plagen, zudringlich anbetteln' (Uhlenbeck Ai. Wb. 219), Lith. *maszóti* '(ein Kind) zergen.'

19. Skt. *yúkā, yúkah* 'louse': OHG. *jucchen*, MHG. *jucken*, *jücken*, OE. *gyccan* 'itch,' etc.: Skt. *yavāṣah, yévāṣah* (\**ie-iu-*) 'ein schädliches kleines Tier.'

20. Gr. *μύia* 'fly, stinging fly, gadfly, carrion-fly,' *μύωψ* 'gadfly; spur, goad; stimulant,' *μυωπίζω* 'spur, prick with the spur,' Lat. *musca* 'fly,' OHG. *muchā* id., *mušica* 'gnat,' Swed. dial. *mausa* id. (\**mūsa*); ON. *mý* 'gnat' (\**mūja-*); OE. *mycg* 'midge,' OS. *muggia* 'gnat,' OHG. *mucka* 'Mücke, Fliege' (\**mugjō-*) etc. These are supposed to come from a root \**mū-* 'murmur, mumble.' It is altogether more probable that the underlying meaning is 'sharp point, sting.' Compare this meaning in Lat. *mūrex* (\**mūsaks*) 'the purple-fish,' evidently named from its projecting spines, as evidenced by the other meanings of the word: 'a pointed rock or stone; a spike of iron; a caltrop with sharp points in every direction; a sharp bridle-bit.' This is certainly closely related to Gr. *μύωψ* 'gadfly; spur, goad.' Similarly ON. *mý* 'gnat' may be referred to *má* (\**mawēn*) 'wear away, scrape off'; and OHG. *mucka* 'Mücke,'

etc. to Gr. ἀμύσσω ‘tear, scratch, esp. of any slight surface wound: prick as a thorn, sting as a fly,’ ἀμυκαλαί· αἱ ἀκίδες τῶν βελῶν παρὰ τὸ ἀμύσσειν Hes., Lat. *mucro* ‘a sharp point or edge, sword.’ Gr. μύωψ, like κόνωψ, κόρωψ, etc. would properly mean ‘sharp-mouth,’ just as ὀξύστομος is used of the gad-fly.

21. Gr. δάπται ‘blood-sucking insects’: δάπτης ‘eater, gnawer,’ δάπτω ‘tear, rend, devour.’ Cf. No. 177.

22. Gr. κεντρίνης ‘a kind of beetle or wasp; a prickly kind of shark,’ κεντρίζω ‘prick, goad,’ κεντρίς, κέντρον ‘prickle, sting, goad,’ κεντέω ‘prick, goad, wound,’ etc., with which compare Corn. *contronem* ‘cimex,’ Bret. *controunenn* ‘ver de viande,’ Welsh *cynrhonyn* ‘termes, lendifix.’

23. Gr. κώνωψ ‘gnat’: κῶνος ‘cone,’ Skt. *çanah* ‘hone,’ *çīçāti* ‘sharpen.’ Given doubtfully in Prellwitz<sup>2</sup>, 255; disregarded by Boisacq. Cf. No. 30.

24. Gr. κόρης ‘bed-bug’: κείρω ‘cut, consume’ (Lidén Arm. St. 83) : κόρνοψ ‘a kind of locust,’ κορνόπιδες· κώνωπες Hes.: Skt. *krñah* ‘wounded,’ *krñatti* ‘wound, kill,’ ChSl. *krñu* ‘maimed,’ LRuss. *korňaty* ‘stechen, schlagen, hauen.’ Cf. Berneker I, 669.

25. Att. πάρνοψ, Boeot., Lesb. πόρνοψ ‘a kind of locust; a wasp,’ πάρνοψ· ἀκρίδος εἶδος, οἱ δὲ μελίσσας ἄγριας Suid.: περόνη ‘anything pointed for piercing or pinning,’ περονάω ‘pierce, pin,’ πείρω ‘pierce.’

26. Lett. *lapsene* ‘Erdbiene, Wespe’; Lat. *lapit* ‘dolore aficit,’ Czech *lopot* ‘Kummer, Sorge,’ *lapotati* ‘sich abquälen,’ Gr. λέπω ‘peel.’

27. OE. *loppe* ‘flea,’ *loppestre* ‘lobster; locust,’ Swed. *loppa* ‘flea’: EFris. *lübben* ‘schinden, schädigen; verschneiden,’ MDu., MLG. *lubben* ‘castrate’; Norw. dial. *loypa* ‘abrinden’ *laupa* intr. ‘peel off,’ pre-Germ. base \*leup-, -b- ‘strip, peel,’ Lett. *lubit* ‘spleissen,’ Russ. *lubü* ‘Borke, Bast,’ etc.; Lett. *lupt*, Lith. *lùpti* ‘abhäuten, schälen,’ Russ. *lupít'* ‘schälen, abschälen,’ Czech *loupití* ‘schälen, abrinden, abhäuten; rauben, plündern’: LRuss. *lupíž* ‘Eichelmaus, garden squirrel,’ Skt. *lopāçāh* ‘jackal, fox,’ etc. Cf. No. 160.

28. Ir. *dergnat* ‘flea’: OE. *dreccan* ‘trouble, annoy, torment,’ ChSl. *raz-drazati* ‘reizen,’ Skt. *drāghatē* ‘plagt, quält.’

Or compare OE. *tergan* ‘irritate, annoy,’ Bulg. *drăgnŭ se* ‘reibe mich, jucke mich, werde kräztig,’ LRuss. *derhaty* ‘raufen, hecheln,’ etc.

29. Lat. *culex* ‘gnat,’ OIr. *cuil* ‘culex,’ Welsh *cylion-en* ‘culex, musca’; Skt. *gūla-h*, -m, *gūlā* ‘spear, dart, spit; sting-ing pain,’ etc. Lidén, Arm. St. 78 ff.

30. Lat. *cimex* ‘bedbug’: OHG. *heimo* ‘Heimchen,’ OE. *hāma* ‘cricket,’ base *\*kim-*, *kōim-* ‘sharp, pointed’: ON. *hein* ‘hone,’ OE. *hān* ‘stone, rock,’ Av. *saeniš* ‘Spitze, Wipfel,’ Skt. *čicāti*, *čyáti* ‘whet, sharpen.’ Cf. Nos. 23, 62, 110.

31. Lat. *pūlex* ‘flea’: Lith. *piáuti* ‘cut, bite,’ *piúklas* ‘saw,’ Lat. *pavire*, *putāre*, etc.

32. Gr. *ψύλλα*, *ψύλλος* ‘flea,’ *\*psul-* *\*bhsul-*, Pol. *pchła* (*\*psul-*) ‘flea,’ ChSl. *blücha*, Lith. *blusa* id. (*\*bhlus-*) Afghan *vraža* id. (Iran. *\*brusā*). Cf. Boisacq 1078 with lit.

These words represent the base *\*bhsul-* and, by metathesis, *\*bhlus-* or vice versa. Or they may be two distinct groups of words that have been crossed. The base *\*bhsul-* may be derived from *\*bhsu-* ‘rub, irritate’ in Gr. *ψάω* ‘touch, handle,’ from *\*bhesē-*, -ā- in Skt. *bábhasti* ‘crush, devour,’ *bhasalah* ‘bee,’ *psāti* ‘consume,’ Gr. *ψῆν* ‘gall-insect; an insect injurious to the vine,’ *ψῆν* ‘rub away, wipe,’ *ψάρω* ‘graze, touch,’ *ψώρα* ‘itch, scab,’ in late writers also ‘a moth,’ *ψώχω* ‘rub to pieces, grind,’ *ψήχω* ‘rub down, curry,’ *ψαθυρός* ‘friable, crumbling,’ *σάθραξ* ‘louse’ (No. 76), etc.

33. ChSl. *blücha* etc. may be from an original *\*bhlusā* ‘a biting, irritating insect,’ from a base *\*bhleu-* : *\*bhlei-* : *\*bhele-* : OHG. *bliwan* ‘beat,’ Goth. *bliggwan* *ðérew*, *maστιγοῦν*, *κατακόπτειν*; Serb. *bluzna* ‘scar,’ WhRuss. *bluzná* ‘a flaw in weaving,’ Lett. *blaugsna*, pl. *blaufnas* ‘scab, scurf; the outer coat of grain, bran’; Aeol. Ion. *φλίβω* ‘crush, press’ (*\*bhli̯guð*), Lat. *fligo* ‘strike,’ Lett. *blaisít* ‘quetschen, schmettern, schlagen,’ Russ. *blizná* ‘flaw in weaving,’ LRuss. *blyzná* ‘scar, wound,’ Czech, Pol. *blizna* ‘scar,’ etc. (cf. Berneker EW. 61); ON. *blaka*, *blakra* ‘flap, beat,’ Lat. *flagrum* ‘scourge,’ Ir. *blog* ‘piece, fragment.’

34. Alb. *plest* (*\*pleust-*) ‘flea,’ Arm. *lu* id., Skt. *plúṣih* ‘a noxious insect’ (cf. Brugmann Grdr. I<sup>2</sup>, 510): Icel. *flosa*

'scale,' *flos* 'shag, nap,' *flosna* 'become frayed, ravel out,' *flysjā* 'cut in slices; peel or scale off,' OE. *fleos*, *flies* 'fleece,' MHG. *vlies*, *vlius* id., root \**plēu-* *pelē-u* 'strip, peel off'; OBulg. *plēvq*, *plēti* 'jäten,' Russ. *plēvá*, *plēná* 'Häutchen, film,' Lith. *plēvē*, *plēnē* id., OBulg. *plēva* 'Spreu, chaff,' Skt. *palāvah* 'chaff, hull,' etc.

35. ON. *fló* 'flea,' OE. *flēah*, OHG. *flōh*, etc., Germ. stem \**flauha-*, pre-Germ. \**plou-ko-* or *-qo-*: Lith. *plauszai* 'thin inner bark, bast,' *plūszai* 'Bastfasern,' *plūszis*, *pliūszis* 'Schilf, Schnittgras,' *pliuszūtis* 'sich abfasern, ravel out'; Lith. *plaukai* 'hairs,' Lett. *plauki* 'snowflakes, what falls from the comb in weaving, dust,' *plaukas* 'flocks, fibers, tow; hulls,' *plūzu*, *plūkt* 'pflücken, raufen, zupfen, schleissen, pluck, pull': OHG. *floccho* 'Flocke,' etc. (cf. Persson Beitr. 806 f.).

36. From the same base come also OE. *flēoge* 'fly,' OHG. *flīoga* id., etc.; ON. *fluga* 'fly; moth,' *hunangsfluga* 'bee.'

37. Lith. *sparvà* 'Bremse, gadfly,' Lett. *spārwa*, *spārw̄s* id., *spāres*, *spāri* 'gadflies': Lat. *sparus*, *sparum* 'short hunting-spear,' ON. *sparr*, *sporr*, *spjor* 'spear,' OHG. *sper* id., *sporo* 'spur,' etc.

38. Lett. *knausis* 'eine kleine Stechfliege': *knūst*, *knūt* 'jücken,' Gr. *κνύω* 'scratch, touch gently,' *κνύμα* 'a scratching.'

39. Lat. *pēdis* 'louse,' root \**tuei-* in Gr. *οῆς* 'moth,' etc. No. 55.

40. Lat. *ricinus* 'a sheep- or dog-louse, tick; a thorny plant, called also cici and croton': Gr. *ἐπείκω* 'bruise, tear, pierce,' Skt. *riçati* 'rupft, reisst ab, weidet.'

41. OE., ON., OHG. *lūs* 'louse,' etc. is an old consonant stem \**lūs-*, with which compare Kelt. \**loves-* in OWelsh *leu-seticc* 'von Läusen zerfressen, wormstichig,' Welsh *lleuen* 'pediculus,' Corn. *lowen*, *lewen-ki* 'cinomia' (*κνόμια*), Bret. *louen* 'pou' (Fick II\*, 256): Skt. *lunāti* 'cut off,' *lāvah* 'cutting off; particle, bit,' *lāvah* 'cutting off, plucking,' *lāvakah* 'cutter.'

42. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Pehl. *spiš*, *spuš*, NPers. *supuš*, *uspūš*, Afghan *spaža* id. etc. (Horn 705): perhaps root \**spei-* in Lat. *spina*, *spica*, *pinna*, etc.

43. LRuss. *bloščýča* ‘bedbug,’ Lett. *blakys*, Lith. *blakė* id. (Berneker EW. 62), base \**bhloq-*, ‘scratch, peel off, tease’: Lith. *blakà* ‘eine Stelle in der Leinwand (od. sonst im Gewebe), wo ein Faden gerissen ist,’ ‘flaw in weaving,’ MHG. *blahe* ‘grobes Leintuch,’ ON. *bléja* ‘coarse cloth,’ early Dan. *bla* ‘tow, oakum,’ root \**bhel-* in Gr. φελλεύς ‘rough, stony ground,’ φελλός ‘the cork-tree, cork-bark,’ φολίς ‘scale of reptiles; a spot, φλονίς· φολίς, λεπίς Hes., φλόνος φλόμος ‘mullen, feltwort’ (named from its rough wooly leaves), φλούσ ‘rind, peel, bark,’ φλοτζω ‘strip off the rind, peel,’ φλάω ‘crush, bruise,’ OE. *blæd* ‘blade, leaf,’ OHG. *blat* ‘Blatt,’ etc.

Or Balto-Slav. \**blak-*, \**blok-* may come from \**mloq-*: Lat. *mulceo* ‘stroke,’ *mulcāre* ‘maltreat,’ root \**mel-* ‘rub, grind,’ Lat. *molo*, Goth. *malan* ‘grind,’ *malō* ‘moth,’ *malwan* ‘crush,’ ON. *mqlr* (\**malu-*) ‘mite,’ OHG. *miliwa* ‘Milbe,’ Skt. *malū-ka-* ‘a kind of worm,’ Arm. *mlukn* ‘bedbug, cimex.’ Cf. Lidén Arm. St. 82 f.

Or Lett. *blakts* ‘bedbug,’ etc., Lat. *blatta* (\**blacta*) ‘moth’ (cf. Walde<sup>2</sup> s. v.) may be from a base \**bleq-*: OE. *plicgan* ‘scrape,’ *plega* ‘quick movement; game, athletic sport; fighting, applause,’ *plegan*, *plagian* ‘play, frolic; play (harp); applaud; strive (for),’ MDu. *pleien* ‘play, dance,’ LG. *plegel* ‘flail,’ EFris. *plakke* ‘blow, whack,’ Norw. *pligg*, *plugg* ‘plug, peg,’ MLG. *plugge*, *plucke* id., MHG., NHG. *pflöck*, ON. *plógr*, OE. *plōg* ‘plow,’ etc.

44. Lat. *insectum* ‘insect.’ According to Pliny 11, 1, 1: “Jure omnia insecta appellata ab incisuris, quae nunc cervicum loco, nunc pectorum, atque alvi, praecincta separant membra, tenui modo fistula cohaerentia.” Properly or improperly, insects are not so named, and this is probably no exception. *Insectum* probably meant ‘cutting into,’ not ‘cut into.’

45. MHG. NHG. *schabe* ‘cockroach; moth,’ OE. *mal-sceafa* ‘caterpillar’: OE. *sceafa*, OHG. *scaba* ‘shave, plane, Schab-eisen,’ *scaban* ‘shave, scrape,’ etc.

46. OE. *ceafor* ‘cockchafer, beetle,’ OLG. *kevera*, OHG. *chevar(o)* ‘Käfer,’ etc.: *cheva* ‘hull, husk,’ MDu. *kaf* ‘chaff,’ OE. *ceaf* id., OBulg. *zobati* ‘fressen.’ Franck<sup>2</sup>, 304.

47. OE. *bitel* ‘beetle,’ Dan. *bille* id.: OE. *bitela* ‘biting,’ *bitan* ‘bite.’

48. OE. *wicga* (\**wegjan-*) 'beetle,' Skt. *vághā* 'ein best. schädliches Tier,' \**uegwh-* 'cut, be sharp': OE. *wecg* 'wedge,' ON. *veggr* id., OHG. *wecki* 'Keil, Weck,' Lith. *vágis* 'Zapfen, Pflock,' Gr. ὁφίς· ὕβρις, ἀρτρον Hes., OHG. *waganso* 'plow-share,' Lat. *vōmer* id.

49. OBulg. *črivi* σκώληξ, σῆς, LRuss. *červ*, 'worm,' Czech *cerv* 'worm, maggot,' *červec* 'plant-bug': Russ. dial. *čirvū* 'sickle,' *červákū* 'saw,' Lith. *kirvis* 'ax,' Skt. *cárvati* 'zermalmt, zerkaut' (cf. Berneker Et. Wb. 172 f.).

50. Lat. *ērūca* 'caterpillar, cankerworm': *runcāre* 'pull out, pluck, weed,' Gr. ὄρύσσω 'dig, dig through,' Lett. *rük'ēt* 'wühlen, schüren, scharren' (cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, 259.).

51. MDu. *rūpe*, *ruppe*, *rupse* 'Raupe,' MLG. *rūpe* id., OHG. *rūpa*, *rūppa* from LG., NHG. *raupe*, dial. *roppe*, *ruppe*: Germ. \**rūp(p)-*, *rupp-*, *rub-* etc. in ON. *riúfa* 'break, make a hole,' MDu. *roppen*, *ruppen*, 'pluck at, tear off; eat greedily,' MLG. *roppen* 'rupfen, zupfen,' MHG. *ropfen*, *rupfen*, Pol. *rypac* 'scindere, friare,' *rupić* 'bite,' Lat. *rumpo*, etc. (cf. Franck Et. Wb.<sup>2</sup>, 565). Or cf. No. 98.

52. MHG. *rappe* 'Raupe, eruca,' *rappen* 'abraupen': *rappe*, *rapfe* 'Krätze, Räude,' EFris., Du. *rafel* 'raveling,' NE. *ravel*, Gr. ἐρέπτωμα 'eat, feed on.'

53. NFr. *ryp* 'caterpillar, eruca,' Du. dial. *rijp*, *rips(e)*, *risp(e)* id.: OE. *ripan*, *ripiān* 'reap,' Norw. dial. *ripa* 'scratch, streak,' *ripa* 'strip off,' early NE. *ripple* 'scratch or break slightly, graze,' ME. *ripelen*, NE. *ripple* 'clean flax of seeds,' MLG. *repēn*, *repelen* id., OHG. *riffila* 'saw,' MHG. *riffel* 'ras-trum,' NHG. *riffeln*, ON. *rispa* 'scratch.'

54. Gr. τεργόων 'wood-worm; caries,' whence τεργόνιζεσθαι 'be worm-eaten, esp. of wood; of bones, be carious': τερέω 'bore through, pierce'; Lith. *trandē* 'Made, Holzwurm,' *trendēti* 'von Motten, Würmern zerfressen werden,' Skt. *trṇātti*, *tar-dayati* 'spaltet, durchbohrt,' Lat. *tarmes*, *termes* 'borer, wood-worm' (\**tr̥mit-*, *termit-*): Gr. τράμις· τὸ τρῆμα τῆς ἔδρας, τινὲς ἔντερον (\**tr̥mi-*), τόρμος 'any hole or socket, in which a pin or peg is stuck,' ON. *þarmr*, OHG. *darm* 'Darm,' etc. (\**tormo-*). All from the root \**tere-* 'bore,' but formed independently.

55. Gr. *σῆς* ‘tinea, moth, book-worm,’ \**t̥e̥i-*: *σίνομαι* ‘tear away, devour,’ *σίνις* ‘destroyer’ (Boisacq); or \**k̥lē-*, Skt. *cyáti* ‘whet.’ Cf. No. 62.

56. Gr. *σίλφη* ‘grub, beetle; book-worm,’ \**t̥uil-bhā*: Lat. *pilus* ‘hair,’ \**t̥ilos* ‘anything pulled off,’ *pilare* ‘rub bare; plunder, pillage,’ from \**t̥ui-* in Gr. *σίνομαι*, OE. *þwinan* ‘be worn away, dwindle,’ *þwitan* ‘cut, shave off,’ etc.

57. Gr. *τίλφη* ‘beetle; book-worm’ may be identical with the above. Or compare *τίλλω* ‘pluck, pull, tear, shred; vex, annoy’: *τίλαι* ‘anything pulled to pieces; flocks, motes floating in the air,’ *τίλος* ‘anything shredded, flock, down, fine hair,’ Skt. *tilah* ‘particle, grain, sesame,’ O Bulg. *tilja* ‘moth,’ *tiliti* ‘corrumpere,’ *tiléti* ‘corrumpi’; *tina* ‘lutum’: Lat. *tinea* ‘moth.’

58. Gr. *ἴξ, ἴκός* ‘a worm or grub that destroys the vine-buds’: Lat. *ico* ‘strike, hit, stab, sting,’ Gr. *ἰκτέα* · ἀκόντιον, *ἀκλοι· αἱ γωνίαι τοῦ βέλους*, O Pruss. *aysmis* ‘spear,’ Lith. *észmas* ‘Bratspiess, spit’ (cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, 374 with lit.).

59. Gr. *ἴψ, ἴπός* ‘a worm that eats wood and vine-buds’ is according to Boisacq the same as *ἴξ* influenced by the following words. Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> s. v. compares *ἴπτομαι*, which after all may be correct. Compare OHG. *wibil* ‘Art Käfer, Kornwurm,’ OE. *wifel* ‘beetle, weevil,’ *scearnwifel*, *-wibba* ‘beetle, Mistkäfer’; *wifel, wifer* ‘arrow, dart,’ Skt. *vipāthah* ‘eine Art Pfeil’: Lat. *vipera* ‘viper.’

60. Gr. *θρίψ* ‘worm, esp. a wood-worm’: perhaps Goth. *dreiban* ‘drive’ (Meringer IF. 18, 235); or Sloven. *drípati* ‘zerreissen,’ Bulg. *drípav* ‘zerrissen, zerlumpt,’ etc., which, however, may have IE. *d*. Or the original form may be \**dhrīq̥u-*; O Bulg. *dríkoli* ‘ξύλον, Knüttel, Stange, Spiess,’ Lith. *drýkti* ‘sich lang herabhängend ziehen,’ *driká* ‘ein Faden oder eine Partie Fäden, welche beim Weben in den Kamm nicht eingezogen wie eine Locke gewickelt herabhängen,’ *drék̥ti* ‘Halme od. Fäden lang streuen,’ *refl.* ‘sich fallend lang hinziehen,’ *draikas* ‘langgestreckt, von Bäumen, schlank,’ etc. (cf. Berneker Et. Wb. 223, 232.) The underlying meaning here is draw out, make thin, whence anything long, thin, pointed; fiber, thread, stalk, hair, etc. Compare \**dhrīgh-* in Gr. *θρίξ* ‘hair, wool,

bristle, feather,' *θρίσσα* 'a kind of fish,' *τριχίς*, *τριχίας* 'a kind of anchovy.'

61. Gr. *κνίψ* 'a small kind of ant, which gnaws figs; an insect living in wood,' *σκνίψ* id., also 'a stingy person, i. e. pincher': *κνῖπός*, *σκνῖπός* 'stingy, niggardly,' *σκνῖπτω* 'pinch, nip; be niggardly.'

62. Gr. *κῆς* 'wood-worm, weevil, moth': Skt. *çicitē*, *çyāti* 'sharpen, whet' (Boisacq 459 with lit.): Lat. *cimex*, etc. Cf. Nos. 23, 30, 110.

63. Goth. *malō* 'moth,' ON. *mqlr* id., ChSl. *molī* *σῆς*, 'Motte, Schabe,' Skt. *malūka-h* 'kind of worm': Lat. *molo*, Goth. *malan* 'grind.'

64. Lith. *kandē* 'moth, esp. its larva': *kándu* 'bite.'

In many instances words for louse, moth (i. e. its larva), mite, maggot, gnat, nit, etc., while derived from words for cut, scrape, rub, grind, crumble mean not 'scraper, gnawer' but 'scrapings, bit, particle,' often with the idea of rottenness, filth. The following may be so classified, and probably several of those given above.

65. Gr. *κάρ · φθείρ* Hes., *κάρνος · φθείρ* H., Lat. *carius* 'tinea': *caries* 'rotteness, decay,' Skt. *grnāti* 'break in pieces, crush,' *çtryatē* 'be crushed, crumble.' Here also may belong Gr. *ἄκαρι* 'mite, maggot,' *ἄκαριαῖς*, *ἄκαρῆς* 'short, small, tiny,' *ἄκαρές* 'bit, morsel.'

66. OE. *moþþe* 'moth,' ON. *motte*, MHG. *motte* id.: ON. *moð* 'scraping, shred,' *má* 'scrape off' (cf. Fick III\*, 326). Cf. No. 20.

67. Goth. OE. *maþa* 'worm, maggot,' OS. *matho*, OHG. *mado*, ON. *maðkr* id.: Gr. *μότον*, *μοτός* 'shredded linen, lint,' Lat. *meto* 'cut off, pluck off, reap, mow crop.'

68. OE. *mite* 'small insect, mite,' NE. *mite* 'an acarid; a small particle, bit; a small coin,' MDu., MLG. *mīte* id., OHG. *mīza* 'gnat': Goth. *maitan* 'cut.'

69. OHG. *milwa*, NHG. *milbe* 'mite,' MLG. *mele* id., Germ. stem \**melwjō-* 'mealy, dustlike'; OHG. OS. *melo* 'meal, flour,' stem *melwa-*, MHG. *milwen* 'grind to dust or meal.'

70. Serb.-Cr. *grizica*, *grizlica*, *grüznica* ‘Motte’: *grîz* ‘halbverdautes Futter im Magen des Ochsen; Sägespäne, Slov. *grîz*, *grîza* ‘Beissen, Bissen,’ etc. Cf. No. 116.

71. Serb.-Cr. *kripelj* ‘Art Zecke, Filzlaus,’ Slov. *kripelj* id.: *krúpa* ‘Gerstengraupe,’ Serb.-Cr. *krúpa* ‘Hagel, Graupen,’ OBulg. *krupa*, *krupica* ‘ψυχίον, Brocken, Krümchen.’ Berneker Et. Wb. I, 631.

72. Serb.-Cr. *krišijelj* ‘Art Filzlaus,’ Slov. *kršelj* id.: *kršiti* ‘brechen, verderben,’ ChSl. *krusiti* ‘zerstückeln, zerbrechen,’ *krucha* ‘Brocken, Krümchen,’ etc. Id. ibid.

73. Lett. *skuteles* ‘Schafläuse: mit Ungeziefer gefüllter Schelfen’: *skust* ‘scrape, shave,’ Lith. *skutù*, *skusti* id., *skutà* ‘dust,’ *skutas*, *skiáutè* ‘small piece, flap,’ Gr. σκυρίζει · σπαράττει Hes. Cf. No. 95.

74. Gr. ψώρα ‘itch, scurvy, scab : moth,’ ψωρός ‘itchy, scabby, mangy,’ etc.

75. Gr. σέρφος ‘a kind of gnat,’ σύρφος · θηρίδιον μικρόν, ὄποιον ἐμπίσ Hes.: σύρφος, συρφετός ‘sweepings, refuse, litter, quisquiliae,’ σύρμα id.: σύρω ‘drag along, sweep away,’ σαΐρω ‘sweep, clean,’ σάρος ‘broom ; litter, refuse.’

76. Gr. σάθραξ · φθείρ Hes.: σαθρός ‘rotten, decayed,’ ψαθυρός ‘friable, crumbling’; ψῆν ‘rub, wear away,’ Skt. *psatti* ‘eat, chew,’ *bábhasti* ‘chew, crush.’ Fick, BB. 26, 114.

77. Gr. φθείρ ‘louse, tick; a sea-fish that sticks on other fishes; small fruit of a kind of pine’: φθείρω ‘corrupt, spoil,’ Skt. *kṣáratī* ‘flow.’ Prellwitz, Boisacq.

78. Skt. *trōṭakah* ‘a poisonous insect’: *trōṭayati* ‘break to pieces,’ *trutāti* ‘break, fall apart.’ Uhlenbeck Ai. Wb. 118.

79. Gr. δόρκαι · κονίδες Hes.: Lith. *darkùs* ‘garstig, hässlich, schändlich,’ *darkýti* ‘schimpfen; verunstalten,’ *dérkti* ‘garstig machen, mit Unflat besudeln,’ MHG. *zürch, zurch* ‘Kot,’ *zürchen, zürgen, zürcken* ‘den Kot von sich lassen, misten’; Russ. *dérka* ‘Zerren, Zupfen, Kratzen,’ *drat'* ‘reissen, zerreissen,’ *dr'ani* ‘Lumpenzeug, Kehricht, Schmutz,’ OBulg. *dírati* ‘reissen, schinden,’ Gr. δέρω ‘skin, flay,’ δαρτός ‘flayed,’ OE. *tord* (offal, filth) ‘dung,’ \**drtóm, teter* ‘ring-worm,’ Skt. *dadrúh* ‘leprosy, scab,’ *dardúh* id., Lat. *derbiōsus* ‘scabby, grindig.’

80. O Bulg. *gadū* 'vermin; noxious animal,' *gadīnū* 'filthy,' Russ. *gadū* 'loathsome person,' *gádit'* 'defile,' Pol. *gad* 'reptile, vermin, lice,' *gadzina* 'serpent, viper,' OHG. *quāt* 'Kot, Schmutz,' NHG. Tirol. *kot* 'ekelhaftes Tier,' *köter* 'allerhand Ungeziefer' (cf. Berneker I, 289).

81. OE. *gnætt*, NE. *gnat* 'a small fly, midge,' LG. *gnatte* id.: Swed. dial. *gnatt* 'Stäubchen, Atom,' MHG. *gnatz* 'Schorf, Grind; Knauserei,' ON. *gnat* 'clash,' IE. *a<sup>w</sup>*, 107.

82. MLG. *gnitte* 'eine Art kleiner Mücken,' EFris. *gnid*, *gnit* 'allerlei kleines Zeug; kleines Fliegengeschmeiss, Sommermücken,' Swe<sup>r</sup> *gnet* 'Niss,' Jutl. *gnit* 'Stückchen; Mücke,' Norw. dial. *gnit* 'Niss,' *gnita* 'abgebrochenes Stückchen,' Pol. *gnida* 'Niss,' Russ. *gnida*, Czech *hnida* etc., Lett. *gnīde* 'scharfe, schäbige, schmutzige Haut,' MLG. *gnist* 'Räude,' MHG. *gnist* 'fest auf der Kopfhaut sitzender Schmutz, Grind,' Tirol. *gneist* 'klein geschnittenes oder geschabtes Zeug,' OE. *gnidan* 'rub, pulverize,' pret. *gnād* and *-gnāð*, IE. base \**ghneit-*, *ghneid-* from \**ghnei-*; Gr. χνία·ψακάζει, θρύπτει ( $\theta\rho\acute{\nu}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota$ ), O Bulg. *gniti* 'faulen,' *gnilū* 'faul,' *gnojī κοπρία*, Russ. *gnoit'* 'eitern lassen; düngen,' etc., Norw. dial. *gnika* 'reiben, streichen, drücken; geizig sein,' *gniken* 'knauserig,' and many others. Cf. Persson Beitr. 94 f.

83. Russ. *gnusū* 'Geschmeiss, Ungeziefer, kleine kriechende Tiere,' *gnúsnyj* 'widerlich, garstig, schmutzig,' O Bulg. *gnusinū* 'ekelhaft,' *gnušati sę* 'sich eckeln,' Serb. *gnūs* 'Schmutz, Mist; Ekel,' Bulg. *gnus* 'Ekel,' *gnusen* 'schmutzig; ekelhaft,' etc.: Gr. χνάω 'scrape, gnaw off, nibble,' χνάμα 'a piece cut off; dainty, tit-bit,' χναρπός 'dainty,' χνόος 'scrapings; scum, foam; down; flocks; dust of chaff,' OSwed. *gnoa, gnugga* 'reiben,' ON. *gnúa* 'rub, crush,' Norw. dial. *gnūra* 'reiben, drücken,' *gnaura* 'scheuern, etc. (cf. IE. *a<sup>w</sup>*, 107).

84. Swed. dial. *knott* (ON. \**knøttr*) 'kleine Mücke, kleiner Gegenstand': ON. *knøttr* 'Kugel, Ball,' Norw. *knott* 'kurzer und dicker Körper, Knorren'; ON. *knoða* 'kneten,' OE. *cnedan* 'knead,' O Bulg. *gnetq, gnesti* 'drücken,' *u-gnētati* 'συνθλίβειν.'

85. OE. *hnitu* 'nit, louse's egg,' OHG. *niz* 'Niss,' etc.: Gr. κνίζω 'scrape, grate, κνίσμα 'what is scraped off': κνάω, κνάω 'scrape,' Lett. *knischi* 'Staubmücken.'

86. Gr. *kovís* (δ) ‘nit, egg of the louse, flea, bug,’ even if related to the above, was probably derived independently from the same root. Compare rather *kóvis*, *kovía* ‘dust, powder, ashes,’ Lat. *ciniis*.

87. Ir. *sned* ‘lens, nit,’ Welsh *nedd* id., IE. \**snida*, and perhaps also Alb. *θent* ‘nit,’ which may go back to the same form: root \**snei-* ‘snip’ in OHG. *snīdan* ‘schneiden,’ OE. *snēd* ‘piece, morsel,’ *snid* ‘slice, cut,’ MHG. *snitzen* ‘schnitzen’; Norw. *snīpa* ‘snap,’ *snīpa* ‘a snippy person; a niggard,’ *snīpen* ‘stingy; sharpcornered,’ Swed. *snipig* ‘spitz, spitzig,’ ON. *snipell* ‘tip,’ Du. *snippen* ‘zerstückeln,’ NE. *snip*, etc.

88. Skt. *likhya-h*, *likṣā* ‘nit, louse-egg,’ NPers. *riśk*, Afghan *riča* id., Bel. *rišk* ‘lice,’ Osset. *liskä* ‘nits’ (cf. Horn Np. Et. 618): Skt. *likháti* ‘ritzt, reisst auf.’ This may have IE. *l* confused with a synonymous word with *r*. Compare Gr. λειχήν ‘lichen, ψώρα, scabies; ring-worm, rash, scurvy, tetter, scab,’ Lat. *dē-lictus* ‘verruclatus, wart-covered.’

89. Lat. *lens*, *lendis* ‘nit’ may be combined with Lith. *lendù* ‘creep, crawl’ (IF. 18, 24) providing the primary meaning was ‘vermin.’ For meaning compare Slov. *lázica* ‘louse,’ Czech *lazuka* ‘reptile,’ LRuss. *lažúka* ‘snake’: Russ. *láza* ‘crawler,’ Slov. *láziti* ‘creep, crawl,’ etc. (cf. Berneker Et. Wb. I, 697). But the primary meaning here as in other words for nit was probably ‘bit, particle.’ Perhaps related to the following.

90. Lith. *gl̄inda* ‘nit’: \**ghle(n)d-*, *ghole(n)d-* ‘scrape, rub’ in Lith. *galándu*, *galásti* ‘whet,’ Slov. *glodati* ‘scrape,’ Russ.-ChSl. *glodati* τρώγειν, δαπανᾶν, Russ. *glodát'* ‘gnaw,’ ON., NIcel. *glata* ‘destroy, ruin; lose,’ refl. ‘be lost, perish,’ Norw. dial. *glata* ‘lose; remove a part, diminish; intr. diminish,’ Gr. χλόδη· ἔκλυσις καὶ μαλακία Hes.

A number of words for bug, beetle, etc. mean primarily ‘chunk, bunch’ or ‘peg, pin’ in reference to their shape.

91. Swed. *bobba* ‘Totenkäfer,’ dial. *bobb* ‘a short thick bug; a short thickset person,’ NHG., Als. *buppe* ‘Gebund Hanf oder Tabak, Büschel Werg, Fruchtzapfen der Kiefer,’ *boppe* ‘Knäuel Hanf,’ *boppi* ‘Mops, dicker Hund,’ etc.

92. Gr. κρότων ‘dog-louse, tick; the thorn-bearing castor-

berry': *κροτώνη* 'an excrescence, knot on a tree, esp. on the olive.' Prellwitz<sup>2</sup>, 246.

93. Gr. *σπονδύλη*, *σφονδύλη* 'a kind of beetle' is plainly named in reference to its shape: *σπόνδυλος*, *σφόνδυλος* 'any round body: the round weight which balances and twirls a spindle, any round stone, pebble; vertebra; whorl of a plant' (cf. Boisacq 900).

94. Gr. *κάνθαρος* 'a kind of beetle; a sort of drinking-cup; a sea-fish,' *κανθαρίς* 'a kind of beetle, the Spanish fly; a beetle hurtful to corn; a kind of fish': *κανθίλη* 'swelling, ἀνοιδησίς.'

95. Gr. *σκυτάλη* 'a thick stick, cudgel; roller, windlass: a serpent,' *σκυταλίς* id., a finger-joint; a kind of crab; a kind of caterpillar,' *σκύταλον* 'club; neck,' *σκύτη* 'head,' Lett. *skausts* 'Keil, Kreuz, Nacken eines Tieres.'

96. Icel. *kleggi* 'cleg, horse-fly; small cock of hay; lump, lot, portion,' Germ. \**klaijan-* 'clod, clump, lump, anything sticking together': OE. *clæg* 'clay,' MLG. *klei* 'the rich soil of the marsh lands,' Du. *klei* 'muck, clay.'

97. OE. *ātor-coppe* (poison-bunch) 'spider'; *copp* 'summit,' *cuppe* 'cup,' OS. *coppod* 'cristatus,' MHG. *kopf* 'cup, bowl, head'; Icel. *kubbi*, *kubbr* 'stump, stub,' Norw. dial. *kubbe* 'block, stub,' NE. *cob* 'a roundish lump: a nut, kernel, pellet of food, a haycock, corn-cob; a young herring; a bullhead, gudgeon; the common clam; cub, whelp,' Icel. *kobbi* 'young seal,' LG. *kobbe* 'spider.'

98. OHG. *rūppa*, *rūpa* 'caterpillar,' NHG. *raupe*, dial. *ruppe*, *roppe*, 'caterpillar,' MDu. *rūpe*, *ruupe*, *rupse*, MLG. *rūpe* id., Germ. \**rupp-*, *rubb-* 'a piece torn off, a rough piece, fragment, chunk, stub,' etc.: MHG. *rūpe*, *ruppe*, OHG. *rūpba* 'Quabbe, Aalraupe,' O Bulg. *ryba* 'fish'; Du. *rob*, E Fris. *rubbe* 'seal,' Norw. *rubb* 'rope-end, stub or fragment of anything,' *rubba* 'rub, scrub; scale fish,' E Fris. *rubben* 'rub, scratch, scrape,' NE. *rub*, etc. (cf. Franck Et. Wb<sup>2</sup>. 552). Cf. No. 51.

99. Gr. *βάξ* (-γ-) 'a berry, esp. a grape; finger-tip; a small venomous spider' may or may not be remotely related to Lat. *racēmus*. The supposition that these words are pre-IE. is based on the theory that the words that exist must for the most part have come down from a hoary antiquity. But there is no more

reason here than in thousands of other cases to make this assumption. The comparison of *páξ* with Lat. *frāgum* ‘strawberry,’ Skt. *sraj-* ‘wreath, garland’ is far more scientific, in spite of its uncertainty. For it adequately explains the underlying meaning (‘a winding together: wreath; bunch, ball; berry; spider’), and does no violence to the phonetic form.

The comparison is, of course, uncertain because of the various phonetic possibilities of *páξ* and *frāgum*. For the former may represent \**rāg*, \**srāg*, or \**urāg-*; and the latter \**srāgo-*, \**bhrāgo-* (cf. my explanation for *frāgum*, Mod. Phil. XI, 327), \**dhrāgo-* or \**mrāgo-*. To add to the uncertainty of *frāgum*, -*rā-* may come from *ṛ*. But *frāgum* : *frāgrāre* is a comparison for which I can find no parallel elsewhere.

100. Lett. *sprad/sis* ‘ground flea, flea-beetle’ is referred by Persson Beitr. 869 to Lett. *spirgs* ‘frisch, munter, gesund,’ *sprid/sigs* ‘rasch, munter,’ etc., the primary meaning being ‘springer, hopper.’ This would be a scientifically correct name for a species of the genus *Haltica*, and the explanation may be all right. And yet it is possible that *sprad/sis*, though belonging to the group of words discussed by Persson l. c., may have been named from its shape rather than its activity. First of all we may compare Lith. *spragis*, *sragas* ‘Raupe, caterpillar,’ and both with OE. *spræc* ‘shoot, twig,’ *spracen* ‘alder, alnus,’ Norw. *sprake* ‘juniper,’ Lith. *spragé* ‘bilberry, Vaccinium myrtillus,’ Lett. *sprad/senes* ‘a species of strawberry, *Fragaria collina*,’ *spurgulis* ‘fin, fiber,’ *spurd/ses* ‘the flower of the hop,’ Lith. *spūrgana* id., *spūrgas* ‘bud,’ Gr. ἀσπάραγος, ἀσφάραγος ‘shoot, sprig of various plants, esp. asparagus,’ Skt. *sphūrjah* ‘a certain plant,’ Av. *sparəgō* ‘barb of an arrow.’

101. Gr. σκώληξ ‘a worm, esp. the earth-worm; also a worm in the stomach’: σκῶλος ‘a pointed stake; a thorn, prickle.’ Cf. No. 124.

102. Skt. *çalīnah* ‘a kind of insect,’ *çalūrakah* ‘an intestinal worm’: *çalāh* ‘staff, sharp point, prickle,’ *çalalam* ‘quill of the porcupine,’ *çalyāh* ‘spearpoint, thorn, sting’: *çalyakah* ‘porcupine,’ *çallakah* id. (cf. Uhlenbeck Ai. Wb. 305 f.).

103. Skt. *vṛntam* ‘Stiel: Raupe,’ primarily ‘whorl’: Skt. *vārtatē*, Lat. *vertō*, etc.

FRANCIS A. WOOD.

### III.—THE LOVER'S BLINDNESS.

"Love," in Shakespeare's phrase, "adds a precious seeing to the eye," and it is owing to this improvement that the lover sees in his lady charms which all others fail to see. To these others, therefore, the lover (or love) is blind; for the defects which are apparent to them do not exist for the lover. These are conventions of which literature has made wide and varied use, and in earlier articles I have shown how potent, in regard to the lover and the object of his love, has been the force of a literary tradition inherited from Greece and Rome; how, owing to this tradition, the lover has been wont to set forth the results of his "precious seeing" in a catalogue of his lady's charms. But the bystander, the one who lacks this "precious seeing," to whom the lover is blind, has his rights also, and we find, therefore, by the side of the catalogue of charms, a catalogue of defects which is, I believe, like the other an inheritance from ancient literature. This latter catalogue may serve as a mere vituperative attack upon a woman, real or imaginary, or it may be a burlesque upon the catalogue of charms,—a gentle satire upon the lover's blindness. Very often, too, the lover himself, when love is done and he sees as other men, writes a retraction of his former praise, a palinode, in which he pictures his former lady not as he had once owing to his "precious seeing" described her, but as she really is.

Just as the conventional catalogue of charms has received in modern literature its most characteristic expression at the hands of the sonneteers of the 16th century, so it is they who furnish us with the best examples of the lover's retraction, and there is hardly a poet who wrote sonnets in praise of his lady's beauty, who did not also write sonnets in which he retracts this praise. A fair sample of this form of the convention, chosen from a large number, is afforded by Barnes,<sup>1</sup> *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*, Son. XIII, in which the poet seeks a way to hate his lady, and prays his thoughts "to take enrollment / Of nature's

<sup>1</sup> In Arber, *The English Garner*, V, pp. 339 sq.

fault in her." . . . "They searched, and found her eyes were sharp and fiery, / A mole upon her forehead colored pale, / Her hair disordered, brown, and crispèd wiry, / Her cheeks thin speckled with a summer's male. / This told, men weened it was a pleasing tale / Her to disgrace, and make my follies fade." For the conventional catalogue of this lady's charms, cf. Son. XLVIII. This whole matter is well discussed by Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*,<sup>2</sup> who cites a large number of examples from English poets and their French models; among the latter especially noteworthy is Jodelle, *Contr' Amours*, VII: *Combien de fois mes vers ont-ils doré / Ces cheveux noirs,*" etc. The conceit took form under the hands of the Italian sonneteers, and we have a characteristic example among the sonnets of Francesco Berni,<sup>3</sup> Son. III, in which he ridicules at the same time the conventional comparison of beautiful features to precious stones. He makes the golden hair of his once loved lady silver, her silver skin, gold, her sapphire eyes, pearls, her black eye-brows, snowy white, her long, slender fingers, short and thick, her red lips, milky white, her ivory teeth, ebony and few in number, her sweet voice, discord. How far back the practice goes I am unable to say; what may be an example occurs among the poets represented in Valeriani's collection,<sup>4</sup> a sonnet by Ottaviano degli Ubaldini describing an ugly woman. It is impossible to decide, however, owing to the scantiness of the record, whether this is a real retraction or simply a vituperative attack.

It was doubtless the influence of Italian or French poets which led Lydgate (?) to write his "A Satirical Poem on his Lady"<sup>5</sup> in which he describes her "fro the heed to the novyl and so forth down," and Hoccleve his little poem,<sup>6</sup> comparable in form to the sonnet, which begins, "Of my lady wel me reioise I may:/ Hir golden forheed is ful narw and smal, / Hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral; / And as the Ieet / Hir yen glistren ay," etc. In the latter poem we have, it may be noted, just as

<sup>2</sup> New edition, 1916, pp. 192 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Rime e Lettere*, Firenze, 1865.

<sup>4</sup> *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Fir. 1816, II, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in Percy Society, II, p. 199. Because of the obscenity of the poem MacCracken, E. E. T. S., 1911, 107, p. xxxi, argues that the poem ought not to be attributed to Lydgate.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 61, p. xxxviii.

in Berni, a satire, also, on the conventional comparison to precious stones, and the fact that Hoccleve parodies the silver skin of the beauty catalogue in his "golden forheed" may indicate an Italian poem as his source, since "silver skin" as a mark of beauty is very common in early Italian poetry.<sup>7</sup>

This burlesque catalogue, however, finds its chief place in the drama and romance. The best known example is that in Shakespeare, M. N. D. III, 1. Of the same character is the rhapsody of Sir Tophas over Dipsas, in Llyl, Endimion III, 3: "What a pretty low forehead! What a tall and stately nose! What little hollow eyes! How harmless she is being toothlesse! her fingers fat and short, adorned with long nailes like a byttern!" Cf. ib. V, 2. In "The Woman in the Moon," on the other hand, Llyl gives us an example of the other sort of burlesque, the retraction, when Pandora, V, 1, in her anger against Gunophilus, whom a moment before she had ardently loved and praised, turns upon him and cries, "What fury made me doate upon these lookes? / Like winter's picture are his withered cheekes, / His hayre as raven's plumes," etc. From the Elizabethan romance may be cited Greene, Menaphon's Eclogue:<sup>8</sup> "Camela dear, even as the golden ball / That Venus got, such are thy goodly eyes; / When cherries' juice is jumbled therewithal, / Thy breath is like the steam of apple-pies. / Thy lips resemble two cucumbers fair; / Thy teeth like to the tusks of fattest swine; / Thy speech is like the thunder in the air; / Would God, thy toes, thy lips, and all were mine." Sidney, Arcadia, Bk. I (London, 1725, I, p. 19) describes an ugly wench named Mopsa in verses the first of which burlesque the conventional comparison of beautiful women to gods and goddesses, and then, "Her forehead iacinth-like, her cheeks of opal hue, / Her twinkling eyes bedeck'd with pearl, her lips a sapphire blue: / Her hair like cratal stone; her mouth, O heavenly wide! / Her skin like burnished gold, her hands like silver ore untry'd." In another passage, Bk. II, p. 271, old Miso, the mother of Mopsa, recalls how she used to hear the young men talk of her: "O the pretty little eyes of Miso; O the fine thin lips of Miso; O the goodly

<sup>7</sup> Cf. e. g. Jacopo Pugliese (Valeriani, I, p. 238); Jacopo de Lentino, I, p. 286.

<sup>8</sup> Dyce, Greene and Peele, p. 291.

fat hands of Miso!" The former passage well illustrates the close connection between these Elizabethan writers and earlier continental poets, imitating as it does the sonnet of Berni referred to above; cf. "her mouth, O heavenly wide," with Berni's "bocca ampia celeste." Both Green and Sidney are indulging in a bit of satire on the conventional catalogue of charms employed ad nauseam by the writers of romance, themselves included. We find, Cervantes, likewise, ridiculing the practice, *Don Quixote*, Pt. II, ch. 44, Altisidora's song: "Niña soy, pulcela tierna, / Mi edad de quince no pasa, / Catorce tengo y tres meses, / te iuro en Dios y en mi anima. / No soy renca, ni soy coja, / Ni tengo nada de manca, / Los cabellos como lirios, / Que en pie por el suelo arrastran. / Y aunque es mi boca aguileña, / Y la nariz algo chata, / Ser mis dientes de topacios, / mi belleza al cielo ensalza." And still earlier Chaucer satirizes the same faults in the romances of his day; cf. his *Sir Thopas*, and Skeat's remarks in his edition, v. V, p. 184; III, p. 423.

Back of all this poetry and prose we have as source for much of its machinery if not for its spirit, the great body of French literature of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, and it is not surprising, therefore, that in its very earliest satire we find a striking example of the lover's retraction. In the "Le Jeu de la Feuillie"<sup>\*</sup> of Adam de la Halle, Adam, who had allowed love to interfere with his spiritual studies and had married a beautiful maiden whom he, after the conventional fashion, had met one summer's day, recovers and decides to return to the church. He tells his friends of his decision to leave his wife, and when they express their surprise, he informs them that love puts men under a spell so that "on cuide d'une truande / Bien que che soit une roine." Of this truth he himself is an illustration for the maiden whom he married, "rians, amoureuse et deugie," now appears to him to be "crasse, mautaillie / Triste et tenchans"; . . . "Si crin sanloient reluisant / D'or, roit et crespé et fremiant: / Or sont kêu, noir et pendic. / Tout me sanle ore en lie mué; / Ele avoit front bien compassé, / Blanc, omni, large, fenestrie: / Or le voi cresté et estroit," etc., every

<sup>\*</sup> Ed. Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre français au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1842, p. 58.

feature contrasted with its opposite, and he concludes, " Bonnes gens, ensi fui-jou pris / Par Amours qui si m'eut souspris : / Car faitures n'ot pas si beles / Comme Amours le me fist sanler."

Adam's experience may have been a very real experience, but it is evident from what has been said that in these contrasted pictures of his wife he is directing his ridicule not against her only but against the poets of his time, their erotic commonplaces, their practice of describing the ladies of their imagination by means of a catalogue of their charms. That they deserved his ridicule is apparent to the most casual reader of the literature of the time, and we may be sure that there were others just as ready as he to raise a laugh at their expense. The very completeness of Adam's catalogue is evidence that it was not the first of its kind, but whether he drew from some immediate predecessor or was inspired by a passage from Ovid, which will be quoted below, it is impossible to say. The latter is the more probable, but he did not need Ovid to tell him that the lover is blind; the conceit was just as prevalent in his day as was the practice of writing catalogues of charms—how prevalent, may be shown by three passages taken from widely different spheres. The first occurs in a romance, *Li Biaus Desconneus* (ed. Hippéau), vs. 1675 sq.; the hero, as champion of the beautiful Margerie, is to fight Gifflet for the possession of a falcon which, as a prize of beauty, is now in the hands of the latter's lady, Rose Espanie, on whom the poet comments as follows, vs. 1708 sq.: *et s'amie / Qui avoit non Rose Espanie / En costé celui cevauçoit / Un palefroi qui brief estoit ; / Moult estoit et laide et froncie. / Ni a celui cui ne desfie / Qu'il la maintint por la plus bele. / Tot s'esmervellent cil et cele / Qu'amors li fait son sens muer. / Mais nus hom ne se puet garder / Qu'amors ne l' face bestorner ; / La laide fait bele sanbler, / Tant set de guille et d'enchanter.* The similarity to the words of Adam is apparent. The second passage is found in *Walter Map, de Nugis Curialium*, II, 12, where Walter tells the story of a certain Edricus Wilde, who one evening as he was returning home came upon a company of maidens, by the beauty of one of whom he was bewitched, and, says Walter, *quod recte caecus Cupido pingitur immemor omnium fantasma non pensat, ultorem non videt, et quod lumen non habet, offendit improvidus.* The third passage I quote from the *Lilium Medicinae* of *Bernardus Gor-*

donius (14th cen.), Particula II, where he discusses the malady of love: dicebat versificator ‘Omnis amans caecus, non est amor arbiter aequus. Nam deforme pectus iudicat esse decus’ et alibi ‘Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam.’ The verses may come, as Professor Lowes, to whose learning<sup>10</sup> I owe the reference, suggests, from some rimed treatise on medicine, but it was no doctor of medicine who first noticed such a symptom of the lover's malady. He found it and similar symptoms in the erotic literature of Greece and Rome whence came, also, as the following citations will show, the satire on the lover's blindness whether in the form of a burlesque on the beauty catalogue or of a retraction in the mouth of the lover himself.

“Not only is Ploutos blind,” says Battus, the love-lorn clown to the mocking Milon in Theocritus, Id. X, 19, “but Eros also,” and he straightway illustrates the truth of his remark by singing a song in praise of Bombyce, a scrawny, dark-skinned wench, beautiful, however, in his eyes: Βομβύκα χαρίεσσα, Σύραν καλέοντί τυ πάντες, / ισχνάν, ἀλιόκαντον· ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος μελίχλωρον.

In the 6th Idyll again, we have the same sort of fun, when the poet makes the shepherd Daphnis sing of Galatea's coquettish wooing of the ugly Polyphemus, ending his song with the words, vs. 18-9: ἦ γὰρ ἔρωτι πολλάκις, ὁ Πολύφαμε, τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται.

The former of these charming burlesques, written, we may be sure, in ridicule of the conventional love-songs of Theocritus' fellow-poets, recalls Socrates' gentle raillery in Plato, Rep. 474 D sq. Socrates, in getting at his definition of the true philosopher, asks the amorous Glaucon whether it is not usual for lovers to call by fair names features in their beloved which are really defects; one who has a snub nose is called agreeable; the hooked nose of another is called princely; the dark are said to have a manly look, the fair to be children of the gods, whereas the adjective “honey-colored” is naught but a flattering name applied to a sallow skin.

Far different from the spirit of these passages is the bitter arraignment of the folly of love in Lucretius, de R. N. 4, 1058 sq. Among its evil effects the poet counts the blindness

<sup>10</sup> Compare his article, The Loveres Maladye of Hereos in Mod. Phil. XI (1913-14), p. 499. I need hardly add that I cannot identify the versificator.

of lovers, which, vv. 1159 ff., he ridicules without stint; nigra melichrus est, immunda et fetidaacosmos, / caesia Palladium, nervosa et lignea dorcas, / parvula, pumilio, chariton mia, tota merum sal, / magna atque immanis cataplexis plenaque honoris, etc. This passage from Lucretius may have suggested to Horace his use of the commonplace in S. I, 3, 38: Illuc praevertamur, amatorem quod amicae / turpia decipiunt caecum, vitia aut etiam ipsa haec / delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus<sup>11</sup> Hagnae. The application, however, is, as is usually the case with Horace's borrowings, entirely different.

It is apparent from these last citations that the blindness of lovers was a "commonplace of philosophy,"<sup>12</sup> the subject, doubtless, of serious discussion, since the lover's blindness, his habit of seeing his beloved's defects as charms, is but one illustration of man's general tendency to call foul things by fair names; cf. Juv. 8, 32: Nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus, / Aethiopem Cyenum, pravam extortamque puellam / Europen; canibus pigris scabieque vetusta / levibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae / nomen erit pardus tigris leo, si quid adhuc est / quod fremat in terris violentius. Although this truth has for the moralist its serious side, still its general application by others, whether by philosophers in their learned discussions or by poets in their love-songs, offers a fair target for ridicule. And Cicero in a delightful passage, de N. D. I, 78 sq., takes a shot at them both.

Here Cotta, in arguing against the Epicurean doctrine that the gods have human form, asks very pertinently what human form is taken as the standard? Not all men are handsome; deinde nobis qui concedentibus philosophis antiquis adulescentulis delectamur etiam vitia saepe iucunda sunt. He then proceeds to give examples of this truth taking them from literature, one from the distant past, the other from the present, the blindness of the poet Alcaeus, to whom naevus in articulo puerilumen videbatur, and the blindness of Quintus Catulus, who wrote an epigram on Roscius confessing that in his eyes he seemed pulchrior esse deo. Huic, continues the witty Cotta, deo

<sup>11</sup>Barnes, in the sonnet quoted, puts a mole on his lady's forehead.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Morris' note on Hor. Sat. I, 3, 38, and on the whole matter, Lejay, Oeuvres d'Horace, Satires, pp. 63 sq.

pulchrior; at erat, sicuti hodie est, perversissimis oculis.—Redeo ad deos. The blindness of the lover, singing through the centuries his songs in praise of his beloved,—we may leave aside the blindness of the philosopher in respect to his gods,—is thus ridiculed by Cicero, and no ridicule was ever more charming or more effective.

Of all this material, Ovid, *tenerorum lusor amorum*, makes use in his own delightful fashion. In A. A. II, 657 sq., when he is instructing the young lover how to keep his lady, he tells him that: *Nominibus mollire licet mala: fusca vocetur, / Nigrior Illyrica cui pice sanguis erit; / Si paetast, Veneri similis, si rava, Minervae; / Sit gracilis, macie quae male viva suast; / Dic habilem, quaecumque brevis, quae turgida, plenam, / Et lateat vitium proximitate boni.* In the Rem. Am. 327 sq., on the other hand, he tells his pupil who would be cured of his love, to call defects by their true names: *Turgida, si plenast, si fuscast, nigra vocetur; / In gracili macies crimen habere potest, etc.*

The fact that this form of the satire on the lover's blindness occurs in Ovid is of importance not only because of his position as *praeceptor amoris* to the writers of the Middle Ages, but also because of the evidence which is thus afforded for the presence of the theme in the rhetorical schools. It is well known that many of Ovid's poems, especially his earlier ones, are versified *suasoriae* or *controversiae*, or scholastic theses, brought to life by his unfailing wit. That love, its character and effects, formed the subject-matter of many of these school exercises we know from the express testimony of Quintilian II, 4, 26: *solebant praeceptores mei . . . praeparare nos conjecturalibus causis cum quaerere atque exequi iuberent . . . 'quid ita crederetur Cupido puer atque volucer et sagittis ac face armatus' et similia.* Such a theme was no better fitted to sharpen the wits of the future lawyer than '*quid ita crederetur Cupido (or amator) caecus?*' At all events this, or some kindred theme, Ovid may well have had in mind when he wrote Am. II, 4, in which he confesses that he will frame no false excuses to condone his failings; *non est certa meos quae forma invitet amores; / Centum sunt causae, cur ego semper amem.* In his eyes all girls are charming, the modest, the foward, the learned, the simple, the tall, the short, the dark, the fair, the girl with the locks of black as well as the girl with the locks of gold: *Seu pendent nivea pulli cervice*

capilli, / Leda fuit nigra conspicienda coma; / Seu flavent,  
placuit croceis Aurora capillis: / Omnibus historiis se meus  
aptat Amor.

The presence, moreover, in the Greek rhetorical schools of the Empire, of the theme of the lover's blindness is attested by its appearance in the erotic letters of this period, in those of Philostratus, for example, in whose works the philosophy of his time and rhetoric dwell together; cf. Ep. 52: *οὐ τὸ ἔραν νόσος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἔραν · εἰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρᾶν τὸ ἔραν, τυφλοὶ οἱ μὴ ἔρωντες*, a very good statement of Ovid's text; cf. Aristaenetus I, 18 (Hercher, p. 149), who repeats with slight variation the passage from Plato referred to above; cf. Theophylactus, Ep. 57 (Hercher, p. 779): *εἰ ἔρας μὴ κατηγόρει τῆς ἔρωμένης ἀπρέπειαν · οὐ δύναται γὰρ μὴ τυφλώττειν ἔρωσα ψυχή*. The fact that these later writers, rhetoricians all of them, merely echo the words of writers of better days is but further proof of the traditional character of the theme; so Nonnus, Dionys. XXXIV, 118, for example, *Χαλκομέδην μὲν ἄπαντες, ἐγὼ δέ σε μονὸν ἐνύψω / Χρυσομέδην* recalls Theocr. X, 26, quoted above; and Battus' remark in this same Idyll, vs. 19: *τυφλὸς δ' οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Πλοῦτος, / ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφρόντιος Ἔρως* is repeated by the Byzantine, Nicetas Eugenianus, V, 219: *\*Ἐρως δὲ τυφλός, οὐ γὰρ ὁ Πλοῦτος μόνος*. On the Latin side cf., for example, Auson. Ep. LXXVII: *Deformem quidam te dicunt, crispa, . . . mi pulchra es.* But how far we are removed from the spirit of Theocritus!

That it was still possible, however, to make fun of the old theme in the graceful fashion of Theocritus is shown by Longus. In Bk. I, 13, of his romance he describes Daphnis as he appears to Chloe who sees him naked for the first time after his bath: *ἢν δὲ ἡ μὲν κόμη μέλαινα καὶ πολλή, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἐπίκαυτον ἥλιψ. Εἴκασεν ἄν τις αὐτὸς χρώζεσθαι τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς κόμης, ἐδόκει δὲ τῇ Χλόῃ θεωμένη καλὸς ὁ Δάφνις, καὶ ὅτι τότε πρῶτον αὐτῇ καλὸς ἐδόκει, τὸ λοντρὸν ἐνόμιζε τοῦ κάλλους αἴτιον*. Compare ch. 16, where we have a description of Daphnis as he appears to his rival Dorcon, who compares his fair beauty with the dark ugliness of Daphnis: *καὶ λευκός είμι ὡς γάλα, καὶ πυρρὸς ὡς θέρος μέλλον ἀμάσθαι. . . οὗτος δὲ ἔστι μικρὸς καὶ ἀγένειος ὡς γυνή, καὶ μέλας ὡς λύκος*. To this taunt Daphnis replies: *\*Ἀγένειός είμι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος μέλας, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὥνακινθος ἀλλὰ κρείττων καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος σταγύρων καὶ ὁ ὥνακινθος κρίνων. Οὗτος δὲ καὶ πυρρὸς ὡς ἀλώπηξ, καὶ προγένειος ὡς τράγος, καὶ λευκὸς ὡς*

*ἴξ ἀστέος γυνή.* Chloe, of course, chooses<sup>13</sup> Daphnis and just as Love has blinded her to his blemishes and to the charms of another, so to Daphnis it gives a "precious seeing" for, says Longus, ch. 17, in words that recall Shakespeare's: *τότε πρῶτον* (i. e. after she has kissed him) *καὶ τὴν κόμην αὐτῆς ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι* *ξανθή,* *καὶ τὸν ὄφθαλμοὺς ὅτι μεγάλοι καθάπερ βοός,* *καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον* *ὅτι λευκότερον ἀληθῶς καὶ τὸν τῶν αἰγῶν γάλακτος,* *ώσπερ τότε πρῶτον* *ὄφθαλμοὺς κτησάμενος,* *τὸν δὲ πρότερον χρόνον πεπηρωμένος.*

In view of this evidence, therefore, it seems to me that there can be no doubt that the lover's blindness and the satire thereon which held up to ridicule his habit of seeing defects in his beloved as charms, were traditional both in ancient literature and in the schools. Of the further development of the theme, where the satire is put in the mouth of the lover himself who retracts his former praise, ancient literature does not afford many examples. They furnish sufficient evidence, however, to warrant the conclusion that the type was well recognized and traditional in certain spheres.

It is obvious that such satire could not become common, outside the comedy, at least, until there had developed a type of subjective erotic poetry in which a lover sings of his lady's charms, similar, for example, to the sonnet sequences of the 16th century, a type in which, instead of a spontaneous expression of a poet's feelings directed to one real personage, the object of a real passion, passion, person, and expression are more or less feigned, and the product for the most part, if not entirely, artificial and conventional. That conditions during the Alexandrian period were such as to produce this type of poetry there can be no doubt, but we have no written evidence that such a type did develop then. The epigram, however, as handled by Callimachus and his successors and by the writers represented in the Greek Anthology contained the germ of such a poetry, and if we arrange in order the epigrams of Meleager addressed to Zenophile, for example, we have a conventional product not unlike the sonnet sequences,—the beginning of love, description of the lady, effect of love upon the lover, divers sweet adven-

<sup>13</sup> This whole passage is a delightful satire on the beauty contest, itself a literary convention with an interesting history, a study of which I hope to publish shortly.

tures, quarrels, and reconciliations. It remained for the Roman poets, however, to develop this type of subjective erotic poetry, and we can trace its growth from Catullus, who sang songs from the heart to a woman of flesh and blood, to Ovid, whose songs are composed largely of conventional motives and addressed to more or less of a lay figure. In the elegies of Tibullus and Propertius, on the other hand, fact and convention, actual events and merely literary motives are so closely commingled that it is impossible to separate them. Nor does it help toward the solution of the mystery of the latter's affair with Cynthia to find her lover, over whom her beauty never, even after death, lost its spell, implying in III, 24 that that beauty was merely the product of his verse and that his praise of it was false: *Falsast ista tuae, mulier, fiducia formae, / Olim oculis nimium facta superba meis. / Noster amor tales tribuit tibi, Cynthia, laudes: / Versibus insignem te pudet esse meis? / Mixtam te varia laudavi saepe figura, / Ut, quod non esses, esse putaret amor, / Et color est totiens roseo collatus Eoo, / Cum tibi quaesitus candor in ore foret.* It is a curious little poem which the poet must have written, it seems to me, in a playful mood, when, as he looked back upon his liaison with Cynthia, he could smile at a lover's mendacia dulcia; whereas the following poem, XXV, voices the bitterness of the same recollection. The poem, therefore, filled as it is with references to the erotic commonplaces of the elegy, affords a good example of the application of such commonplaces to a real experience.<sup>14</sup>

Whence came to Propertius the suggestion for such a retraction it is difficult to say. It may represent the reversal simply of the usual palinode, the most famous example of which was the apology of Stesichorus to Helen<sup>15</sup>; or the hint may have come from some epigram or from the comedy. It may be noted that we find such a hint in a fragment of a fabula Atellana by Pomponius:<sup>16</sup> *A peribo, non possum pati. Porcus est quem amare coepi, pinguis non pulcher puer.*

<sup>14</sup> One cannot mention the Roman elegy without feeling renewed grief over the untimely death of Professor Smith. Better than any one else has he interpreted the elegy for us and by his sympathy, his knowledge, his art, Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid have been made to live again.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Plato, *Phaedr*, 242 D; *Epis.* III, 319 E.

<sup>16</sup> Ribbeck, *Scaen. Poes.* Frag. II, p. 251.

With Propertius' farewell to Cynthia may be compared Ovid's farewell to Corinna, Am. III, 12. He realizes that she is not his alone, but confesses that he can blame no one but himself, since by his praise of her in his songs he has led other lovers to her door. But poets are not on oath and he has told many tales that no one believes; Exit in inmensum fecunda licentia vatum, he concludes, Obligat historica nec sua verba fide; / Et mea debuerat falso laudata videri / Femina: credulitas nunc mihi vestra nocet. Of the conventional character of this poem there can be no doubt.

Ovid gives us, too, another treatment of this same theme in Rem. Am. 311 sq., a passage to which I have referred above. This is, it will be noted, essentially a lover's retraction, and in vv. 311-321 Ovid takes pains to assure his pupil that he has practiced what he preaches. When he himself was sick from love and would fain be cured, he found it helpful to dwell continually on his lady's faults, and he enhances the fun of it all by remarking in parenthesis that the girl was not so ugly as his retraction would make out: 'Quam mala' dicebam 'nostrae sunt crura puellae!'/ Nec tamen, ut vere confiteamur, erant; / 'Brachia quam non sunt nostrae formosa puellae!'/ Et tamen, ut vere confiteamur, erant; / 'Quam brevis est'; nec erat. 'Quam multum poscit amantem; / Haec odio venit maxima causa meo. / Et mala sunt vicina bonis; errore sub illo / Pro vitio virtus crimina saepe tulit.

This last bit of wisdom carries us back again into the rhetorical schools, for the truth that mala sunt vicina bonis lies at the bottom of much of our wit and humor, and it was, therefore, very thoroughly discussed by the ancient writers on rhetoric under its various aspects as irony, allegory, euphemism, antiphrasis. The best commentary on Ovid is Cicero's discussion of the orator's use of wit in de Orat. II, 65, 261, where he deals with fun that may arise from the use of words quae aut ex immutata oratione ducuntur aut ex unius verbi translatione aut ex inversione verborum; cf. Quint. VIII, 6, 54. Certain examples of such uses of words no doubt became typical, among them the passage from Juvenal which I have quoted above which is referred to by Isidore of Seville, Orig. I, 36, 24, under his treatment of antiphrasis. It was by this avenue, therefore, I think, that the lover's habit of calling defects charms and then

retracting his praise, made its way into the school. That examples of the habit were taken largely from the comedy we may assume; the passage I have quoted from Pomponius is evidence therefor, and a remark of Cicero, l. c. 274, is, I think, conclusive. He gives some examples of dissimulatio, cum honesto verbo vitiosa res appellatur, one of them, be it noted, concerning an ugly woman, and characterizes such jokes as subabsurda, sed . . . saepe ridicula, non solum mimis perapposita, and as belonging to the genus mimicum. The passage which I quoted from Pomponius may, therefore, be considered typical.

In the light of this evidence, then, and I would especially emphasize the words of Cicero, it may not be chance that the earliest examples of the satire on the lover's blindness occur in Plato and Theocritus, in the works of both of whom the mime looms large.<sup>17</sup> The influence of the mime may, of course, be easily exaggerated, but we are sure that the mimus was the ancestor of the mediæval jongleur, and that from the mime came most of the shorter forms of satiric poetry current in the Middle Ages.<sup>18</sup> It may well be, therefore, that Adam de la Halle, whose *Jeu* certainly possesses all the characteristics of the mime, owed to the tradition of this popular form of drama the suggestion for his retraction if not his material. The latter may have come from Ovid, from the passages which I have quoted above; Adam is, at least, merely carrying out the precepts of the master that the lover who wishes to recover from his sickness,—and Adam did so wish,—should call a spade a spade,—which Adam does. There is, however, no need to assume any one definite source. Such material was common property, traditional, as my examples show, both in school and out.

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<sup>17</sup> Compare Reich, *Der Mimus*, I, pp. 10 sq.; 296 sq.

<sup>18</sup> Compare on this matter, Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age*, pp. 10 sq.; 214 sq.

#### IV.—THE TRIAL OF SAINT EUGENIA.

Although the relations of Christian legends to pagan myths and secular fiction engage the interest of a growing number of classical scholars, one of the most interesting and romantic legends of the saints, the story of Eugenia, has not yet, to my knowledge, been brought into connection with a secular story which is its nearest of kin. In this paper it is proposed to set forth this relationship, to discuss certain other stories which are possibly akin, and to consider the origin of some peculiar features of the stories in question.

An outline of the legend of St. Eugenia may be given as follows: In the reign of Commodus a certain Philip was sent from Rome to Alexandria to serve as prefect of that city. He was accompanied by his wife Claudia, his two sons, and his daughter Eugenia. Of Eugenia we are told that she was educated in all the learning of the period, and that she was very beautiful. On reaching womanhood she was sought in marriage by Aquilius, the son of a consul. But she refused the suitor, declaring that her husband should be chosen for his character and not for his high birth. Shortly after this time, the legend relates, some works of the Apostle Paul fell into the hands of the young Eugenia, and she conceived a deep interest in the teachings of Christianity.

At this time Christians were allowed to dwell in the suburbs of Alexandria, though not permitted within the city itself. Desiring to learn more of the new doctrine, Eugenia sought and obtained permission from her parents to visit a rural villa belonging to the family. She set forth upon the journey in the style becoming a young woman of rank; numerous servants attended her, and she was carried in a litter. On the road she heard a band of Christians singing their sacred songs and praising God. The circumstance increased her interest in the Christian doctrine, and she was even then a convert at heart. So she took her two servants, Protus and Hyacinthus, into her confidence, cut off her hair, assumed the dress of a man, and with their assistance contrived to leave the litter secretly at a con-

venient halting-place. The litter, attended by the other servants, went on its way. Meanwhile Eugenia with Protus and Hyacinthus proceeded in a different direction to a gathering of Christians. There she met the celebrated bishop Helenus, who confirmed her in the faith and admitted her to a monastery, which she entered as a man, calling herself Eugenius. In the meantime her absence from the litter had been discovered, and after a vain search her parents mourned her as lost.

In the monastery Eugenia was distinguished for her piety and lowliness of spirit; so much so that when the presiding abbot died Eugenius, in spite of a refusal prompted by humility, was elected to fill his place. Not long after this time a rich widow of Alexandria, named Melanthia, was cured of an illness by the so-called Abbot Eugenius, who visited her and anointed her with holy oil, refusing the gifts which the grateful woman was eager to lavish upon him. Now Melanthia had fallen in love with the young and attractive abbot; so not long afterwards she feigned a second illness and summoned Eugenius to her house. She declared her passion with scant delay, but was rebuffed by the young Christian.

Then Melanthia plays the part of Potiphar's wife. Going to the prefect Philip, she lodges an accusation of assault against the Abbot Eugenius. So Eugenia is brought to trial in the presence of a hostile audience, before Philip her father; and finding other arguments of no avail, she defends herself by an unexpected revelation. Tearing her garments open, she proves her sex to the judge and spectators, and then reveals that she is the daughter of the presiding magistrate. So the family is reunited, and all its members are converted to the Christian faith. The father, Philip, soon suffers martyrdom in Alexandria for his adoption of Christianity. The other members of the family return to Rome, and there after a time they also die the death of martyrs for their missionary work among the people of the great city.

This story is found in three versions which agree in all points essential to the narrative: an Armenian version published by F. C. Conybeare in 1896,<sup>1</sup> a Latin version of uncertain date,

<sup>1</sup> *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius, and other Monuments of Early Christianity*, London, 1896.

to be found in Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum*,<sup>2</sup> and a Greek version in Symeon Metaphrastes' Lives of the Saints, composed in the tenth century.<sup>3</sup> Of these Symeon's account is the fullest, chiefly because it is full of rhetorical passages and edifying comment; it adds nothing of value to the substance of the Latin version, which is rightly held to be the older. Conybeare has shown good reason for his belief that the Armenian legend is the oldest of the three. Particularly important is the fact that it refers to the history of Thekla as a holy book, and makes it the model which inspired the conversion and flight of Eugenia. Direct imitations of the Acts of Paul and Thekla are not wanting. But the Latin and Greek versions obliterate all references to Thekla, who had become, as Conybeare says, "a somewhat heretical saint." As we have seen, they represent Eugenia as influenced by the writings of Paul.

The events of the story purport to be of the beginning of the third century, but there are anachronisms, and despite the occurrence of historical names, a definite groundwork of historical fact has not been established. Conybeare places the Armenian version about 275 or 280, and the Latin about 400. In any case, Alcimus Avitus, who was bishop of Vienne at the end of the fifth century, cites Eugenia as a shining example of purity under persecution,<sup>4</sup> and mentions the essential points of the story; so we may assume that it belongs to the period between 200 and 400, which was very fertile in romantic narratives, both secular and religious.

That the legend was originally written in Greek may be regarded as certain. The Latin version translates a passage in which Eugenia plays upon the name of her false accuser, "O Melanthia, nigredinis nomen, et tenebrosa Melanthia"—a pun which would mean nothing to readers unversed in Greek.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>2</sup> Migne, Patrol. Lat. 73, pp. 605 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, Patrol. Gr. 116, pp. 609 ff. I have recently examined the brief life of Eugenia in the Menologion of Basil II (Cod. Vat. Graec. 1613, p. 270) in the beautiful facsimile published by the Vatican. It offers nothing new except the statement that Eugenia declared herself a eunuch when she entered the monastery. The false accusation and the trial are omitted; but the phrase διαγνωσθεῖσα καὶ διαγνωρισθεῖσα Φιλίππῳ τῷ πατέρι αὐτῆς plainly refers to those parts of the legend.

<sup>4</sup> Patrol. Lat. 59, 378 B.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 73, 614, cf. 612.

same word-play was in the document from which the Armenian version was made.<sup>6</sup> Another bit of evidence of Greek origin may be detected in Eugenia's use of the word *botri* (*uvae*), a Hellenism which was never firmly established in Latin.<sup>7</sup>

In further analysis of the story the following points are to be noted:

1. Certain features of the legend, especially Eugenia's refusal of marriage, and her flight and disguise, mark it plainly as belonging to a cycle with Encratic tendencies, of which the Acts of Thekla are the earliest representative, and which is continued by the stories of Pelagia, Marina, Margarita and Anthusa. We have seen that the Armenian version of the story of Eugenia acknowledges the legend of Thekla as its prototype. The question of a pagan source for these legends can not be regarded as settled; certainly Usener's attempt to relate Pelagia-Marina to Aphrodite is unsatisfactory.<sup>8</sup>

2. It will probably be conceded by most critics that the martyrdom of Eugenia and her family is a pious addition to the legend, which originally concluded with the scene of recognition and reunion. Conybeare conjectures that "the earliest text went only so far as ch. 19 inclusive (i. e. the death of Philip and the departure of the rest of the family for Rome), for so far only is the narrative fresh and life-like, and free from chronological inconsistencies."

3. When the matter mentioned in the last two paragraphs is eliminated and due allowance made for the religious atmosphere, we find that the residuum peculiar to the Eugenia-legend consists in a slight story which may be expressed in the following formula: A young woman who has been led by some stress of circumstances to adopt male attire is accused of immoral conduct and obliged, in order to establish her innocence, to disclose her sex to her judges.

<sup>6</sup> Conybeare, p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> Patrol. Lat. 73, 617.

<sup>8</sup> *Legenden der Heiligen Pelagia*, Bonn, 1879. Radermacher's *Hippolytus und Thekla* (Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Sitzb. 182[1916]) is not yet accessible to me, and I can form no adequate idea of the work from a review which I have seen. I hope, however, to show in another study that these legends of the Persecuted Virgin have their nearest analogue in a different myth, which has not yet been brought into relation with them.

Obviously we have to do with a novella. In the adventures of Eugenia and the strange scene in which she reveals her sex Boccaccio might have found a congenial subject to turn into a secular tale couched in his sonorous Tuscan. The dramatic possibilities of the legend, especially the recognition scene in which Eugenia is reunited with her family, have not passed unremarked. The great Spanish dramatist Calderón used the story for the plot of his comedy "El José de las Mujeres"—the Female Joseph. A somewhat fanciful treatment of it occurs in one of Gottfried Keller's *Sieben Legenden*.\*

Now to this novella-like nucleus of the legend of Eugenia there is a counterpart in a little-known story which has come down to us through a single channel—a passage in the *Fabulae* attributed to Hyginus (c. 274, *Quis quid invenerit*). The somewhat bald narrative must be quoted in full:

Antiqui quia obstetrices non habuerunt, unde mulieres verecundia ductae interierant (nam Athenienses caverant ne quis servus aut femina artem medicinam disceret) Agnodice quae-dam puella virgo concupivit medicinam discere. quae cum concupisset, demptis capillis habitu virili se Heróphilo cuidam tradidit in disciplinam. quae cum artem didicisset et feminam laborantem audisset ab inferiore parte, veniebat ad eam. quae cum credere se noluisset existimans virum esse illa tunica sublata ostendebat se feminam esse: et ita eas curabat. quod cum vidissent medici se ad feminas non admitti Agnodicen accusare coeperunt, quod dicerent eum glabrum esse et corruptorem earum et illas simulare imbecillitatem. quod cum Areopagitae consedissent Agnodicen damnare coeperunt. quibus Agnodice tunicam allevavit et se ostendit feminam esse. et validius medici accusare coeperunt. quare tum feminae principes ad iudicium convenerunt et dixerunt: vos coniuges non estis sed hostes, quia quae salutem nobis invenit eam damnatis. tunc Athenienses legem emendarunt ut ingenuae artem medicinam discerent.

If we disregard the second attack upon Agnodice by the jealous physicians, after she had made her sex known, we have left a story very like the nucleus of the legend of Eugenia. Nor has it any stronger claim to credit. The statement that the ancients had no midwives is absurd, of course, and there is no doubt that "wise women" treated minor ailments with impunity, especially among women and children; nor do we hear that the need of female physicians was acutely felt among Greek

\* I owe this reference to Professor J. W. Scholl.

women. Another proof of the fictitious character of the story is to be discerned in the name Agnodice, which should doubtless be Hagnodice. The name does not appear elsewhere; and in view of its suggestion, "chaste before judgment," we may regard it as coined to fit the story.

One peculiarity of the story of Agnodice demands notice because of its difference from the corresponding detail in the legend of Eugenia. When Eugenia reveals her sex to the prefect, she tears her garment open from above and shows her breasts—an act involving a momentary abandonment of modesty, but not flagrantly indecent. But the gesture of Agnodice is more drastic, as Hyginus' words show. In this unnecessarily immodest act attributed to the heroine of the pagan story we may find a clue to its origin.

In any case it is probable that the Christian recorder of the Eugenia legend has softened a feature of the story which seemed to him too coarse for use in a piece of edifying literature. An exact parallel to this bowdlerizing may be observed in a Celtic myth to which I shall revert later. It is interesting to note that when Calderón came to treat the story of Eugenia in his drama, he toned the traditional form of it down still more. In the scene where his Eugenia defends herself, she is able to establish her identity and prove her innocence by calling upon judge and spectators to compare her features with a portrait of his long-lost daughter which her father, Philip, has kept, and which hangs in the court-room. Evidently Calderón could not expect the austere Spanish court to look with favor upon a faithful representation of the naive legend of the church.

Peculiar as is the dénouement of the stories of Agnodice and Eugenia, the cautious critic may fairly ask whether we need to seek its origin outside of the data of the stories themselves. When the plot of a story represents the heroine as assuming male dress, must not its development bring about complications which may demand for their resolution ocular demonstration of the woman's sex? Obviously this question must be answered in the affirmative; and here the investigation might rest but for that clue to which I have alluded above, namely that in the older story Agnodice escapes from her jeopardy by an unnecessarily immodest act. Perhaps this circumstance can be best explained if we consider the story to have been suggested by a statue or

figure of some sort representing a woman in the act of uncovering her sexual parts. In other words the story of Agnodice and other kindred narratives stand related as aitia to works of art of the type described.

That such statues or statuettes existed might be safely assumed even in the absence of apposite archaeological material, for reasons which must be stated as briefly as possible. The magical effect of obscene acts and gestures, as well as obscene words (*αισχρολογία*) is now so well known to students of folk-customs as to need no illustration. Symbols and amulets perpetuating such gestures followed as a matter of course. Among the Greeks and Romans there is abundant evidence for the belief in the power of phallos and fascinum not merely to stimulate the reproductive powers of plants and animals, but also to repel evil influences of all kinds. That representations of the female parts and symbols derived from them should have been used in like manner was perhaps to be expected; but certainly the archaeological examples are much less numerous.<sup>10</sup>

Greek and Latin authors furnish a good many illustrations of what may be called female sex-magic in connection with agriculture—a form of activity which under primitive conditions of life seems to have belonged particularly to women. Heckenbach has collected evidence bearing upon the subject in his treatise *De nuditate sacra sacrificia vinculis*.<sup>11</sup>

A striking example of the apotropaic value attributed to the display of a woman's person is found in a myth recorded by Plutarch.<sup>12</sup> Bellerophon, who had aided Iobates, king of Lycia, in driving the Amazons from his country, had been denied his just reward; whereupon, in answer to Bellerophon's prayer, Poseidon sent a great wave to flood the land. When the Lycian men could not prevail upon Bellerophon to stay the threatened destruction, the women drew up their tunics (*ἀνασυράμεναι τοὺς χειρωνίσκους*) and went to meet the hero, who withdrew abashed, the wave following him. A remarkably close parallel to this

<sup>10</sup> See Jahn in *Berichte der sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1855, pp. 79 f.

<sup>11</sup> Pp. 51 ff. An example of woman-magic in agriculture which has escaped some European writers on folk-lore is to be found in Schoolcraft's *Oneota*, p. 83, whence Longfellow derived "Blessing the Corn-fields" (*Hiawatha XIII*).

<sup>12</sup> *Mulierum Virtutes*, p. 248 B.

story exists in an incident of the old Irish epic *Táin Bó Cualnge* (The Cattle-Raid of Cooley).<sup>13</sup> The youthful hero Cuchulain had defeated all of King Conchobar's champions and was calling for another antagonist when a number of women of the court approached him with the same gesture of exposure that the Lycian women had used against Bellerophon; whereupon the followers of Conchobar were able to subdue the confused young warrior. It is worthy of note that in this Irish narrative, as in the legend of Eugenia, an attempt has been made to soften the harshness of a primitive feature of the story. The incident is given above according to the text of the Book of Leinster; in the other texts the women only bare their breasts before the eyes of Cuchulain.

Another curious instance of the act of exposure as an apotropaic gesture is to be found in a Japanese myth recorded in the *Nihongi*, where the "Terrible Female of Heaven" employs it to confuse a hostile divinity.<sup>14</sup> One may add a reference to Rabelais's grotesque story of the Devil of Papefiguière, whom a country woman put to flight in similar fashion.<sup>15</sup>

From Herodotus' account of the *πανήγυρις* at Bubastis (II, 60) it appears that the gesture of *ἀναστρόφω* on the part of the women of the region was a regular part of the proceedings. It was associated with *αισχρολογία*, and hence may be regarded as apotropaic in original intention.<sup>16</sup> The interpretation is less certain in Diodorus' account of the acts of the women who attended the new Apis (I, 85, 3). Here also the exposure may have been meant to drive away hostile influences from the presence of the god; but it is at least possible that the purpose of the women may have been to subject their persons to the fertilizing influence of the divinity.<sup>17</sup> Naturally enough the ges-

<sup>13</sup> J. Dunn's translation, London, 1914, pp. 76 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Nihongi*, translated by W. G. Aston, in *Transactions of the Japan Society of London*, Suppl. I (1896), p. 77.

<sup>15</sup> *Pantagruel* IV, 47. The story was borrowed from Rabelais by La Fontaine, *Contes*, pt. IV, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Similar indecencies in connection with unspecified religious rites are alluded to in a scholium on Lucian *Peregr.* 13 (Rabe, p. 219, 19).

<sup>17</sup> A missionary who has worked for many years in India reported to me that he once saw a young woman of high caste (Rajput) and noble and scrupulously modest bearing open her garments from neck to ankle, and stand for a few moments in prayer before a *lingam* beside the tank

ture of exposure is sometimes recorded as a mere insult, even where the student may conjecture that an apotropaic purpose was originally present. Hence the stories about the posture in which the Spartan and Persian women received their coward sons.<sup>18</sup> A curious modern instance appears in a story told about the famous Caterina Sforza, the fighting countess of Forlì.<sup>19</sup>

Probably akin in origin to such stories as those of Bellerophon and Cuchulain, though less crudely expressed, are certain modern tales in which a beautiful princess confuses or defeats an opponent, whether in a contest of strength or a battle of wits, by unveiling her charms. So, in the Persian story of Calaf and Turandot, Turandot confuses Calaf by unveiling her face just as he is about to answer the last of her riddles;<sup>20</sup> in an Avaric tale a princess bares her breast to her antagonist and so overcomes him in wrestling.<sup>21</sup>

The rôle that the gesture of exposure on the part of a woman has played in legend and custom has now been fully demonstrated. It remains to consider briefly its representation in the arts. In searching for an art-type which could have given rise to such a story as that of Agnodice one must begin with certain eliminations. For example, the crude early unclothed figurines which are thought to represent the Oriental Aphrodite belong elsewhere, and so also do certain apotropaic amulets of a much later period, representing nude female figures in obscene postures;<sup>22</sup> for such a story as that of Agnodice could relate only to a clothed or partly clothed figure. The Orphic story of Bau-

where she had performed her ablutions. In this case the petition was doubtless for children.

<sup>18</sup> Plut. Lacaen. Apophth., p. 241 B, Mulierum Virt., p. 246 A; Justin, I, 6, 14. The original intent may have been to exorcise the demons of fear, as Reinach remarks in the article cited below.

<sup>19</sup> Lud. Guicciardini, Hore di Recreatione, chapter-heading *Consiglio feminino esser talhora di gran valore.*

<sup>20</sup> Pétis de la Croix, Les Mille et Un Jours (ed. of 1785 in *Le Cabinet des Fées*, vol. 14, pp. 227 ff.).

<sup>21</sup> Schieffner, Awarische Texte, Memoirs of the St. Petersburg Academy, series 7, vol. XIX, 6, p. 67. There is a somewhat similar episode in the Thousand and One Nights (Night 47).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Perdrizet, Bronzes Grecs de la Collection Fouquet, p. 43.

bo, as Reinach has shown,<sup>23</sup> gives evidence for the apotropaic gesture of ἀναστροφός, but the plastic representation of Baubo appears to be limited to some monstrous grotesques which have nothing to do here.<sup>24</sup>

There are, however, certain figures of Graeco-Egyptian workmanship which seem to provide the archaeological *point d'appui*. In H. B. Walters's Catalogue of Terra Cottas in the British Museum there is described and figured an "hieratic or orientalizing type" of Aphrodite from Naucratis, which has the tunic drawn up in front and the sexual parts exposed.<sup>25</sup> In this case the attributes, particularly the headdress, force us to interpret the figure as a goddess or at least a priestess; but there is no reason to suppose that these paraphernalia appeared in all such figures. Another example, probably like that in the British Museum, belonged to the Collection Fouquet, and has not been published, so far as I know. M. Perdrizet refers to it as "Aphrodite ou une hiérodule faisant le geste de l'ἀναστροφά" (ἀναστροφός?).<sup>26</sup> Even for the milder gesture of baring the breast there are archaeological parallels of some interest in some small Graeco-Egyptian figures of women seated, with hands raised and breast uncovered. They are regarded as mourners by Schreiber, who has discussed them and supplied illustrations.<sup>27</sup>

The Egyptian provenance of these figures seems to acquire a certain significance when viewed in connection with the literary evidence surveyed above. Two different authorities attest the occurrence of the gesture of ἀναστροφός in connection with Egyptian custom and ritual. The story of Agnodice has a certain connection with Egypt, although the scene of her trial is laid in Athens; for the heroine is said to have studied under Her-

<sup>23</sup> Le Rire Rituel, in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, IV, pp. 115 ff. To this admirable article I owe several important references.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Diels, *Arcana Cerealia*, in *Miscellanea dedicata al Prof. A. Salinas* (Palermo, 1907), pp. 3-14.

<sup>25</sup> P. 250, No. C 575, fig. 49.

<sup>26</sup> Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Female figures in the same posture were represented on churches in western Europe, and are known to Celtic antiquaries as Sheila-na-Gig. Certain gaps in our library prevent my giving references to first-hand authorities. See, however, Hartland in Hastings's *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, vol. IX, p. 817.

<sup>27</sup> Schreiber in *Miscellanea Salinas*, p. 212.

philus of Alexandria,<sup>28</sup> and the story comes down to us in a work which is undoubtedly a product of Alexandrian learning. The story of Eugenia up to her reunion with her family is entirely Alexandrian in its setting. It is probable, then, that the primitive novella which may be discerned beneath the stories of Agnodice and Eugenia should be regarded as of Graeco-Egyptian origin, unless an earlier example presents itself elsewhere.

The reader who has followed the discussion thus far may have wondered at the omission of a story which bears a certain resemblance to some that are treated above. That is the story, given apparently on the authority of Hermippus of Alexandria,<sup>29</sup> to the effect that when the notorious Phryne was on trial for impiety, Hyperides, her advocate and lover, tore open her tunic and bared her breasts to the eyes of the judges, and successfully appealed to them not to condemn the priestess and servant of Aphrodite. According to another version, it was Phryne herself, unprompted by an advocate, who thus played upon the emotions of the judges. The anecdote is of very doubtful authenticity.<sup>30</sup>

It may be regarded simply as a cynical narrative illustrating the power of beauty and the weakness of judges, and needing no genetic investigation. On the other hand, in spite of the utter oppositeness of the characters of Phryne on the one hand and Agnodice and Eugenia on the other, there is a point of contact in the stories told about them; for in all three cases the heroine's acquittal is brought about by a sudden disclosure of her body to the view of the judges. Furthermore, if the story of Hyperides' trick was recorded by Hermippus, it may be of Alexandrian origin, and must be of earlier date than the other two stories, since Hermippus flourished about 200 B. C. Whether it is directly related to the Agnodice-Eugenia novella must remain doubtful. Its *ethos* is fairly comparable to that of the story of Turandot, which has been mentioned above, and which may have a longer history than we know.

An attempt has been made by Karl Fries to connect the anec-

<sup>28</sup> I see no sufficient reason for treating *Herophilo* in the text as a general term (= *medico*), as Schmidt suggests.

<sup>29</sup> In Athen. XIII, p. 590 E; cf. Hyperides, fr. 178 Blass.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Blass, Attische Beredsamkeit<sup>3</sup>, III, 2, p. 5.

dote about Phryne with the story of Susanna.<sup>31</sup> He points out that Susanna, although represented as a virtuous matron, stands alone at her trial: her husband and kinsmen do not aid her. Hence he infers that the prototype of the story represented her as single. In the emphasis laid upon her beauty and upon the circumstance that she is unveiled before the judges he finds another parallel to the trial of Phryne, in spite of the fact that the unveiling of Susanna is described as an outrage on the part of the elders. Combining the two stories, Fries would trace their origin to the cult of a goddess of the type of Ishtar and Aphrodite—a divinity whose mystic veil it was dangerous to lift. The argument is ingenious rather than convincing, and I see no reason to bring the story of Susanna into connection with the others examined in this paper. Such a connection, it is true, would become more plausible if the Graeco-Alexandrian origin of the History of Susanna were fully established; but upon this point opinions differ, and competent authorities, such as Charles and Oesterley, hold that the book was composed in the Hebrew language and set down in Jerusalem, or at least in Palestine. The unveiling of Susanna, however rudely performed, seems to be adequately accounted for by the Jewish regulations concerning the trial of an adulterous woman.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Oriental. Literaturzeitung, XIII, pp. 337 ff. Fries does not mention the stories of Agnodice and Eugenia.

<sup>32</sup> Numbers V, 18, and Tractate Sota I, 5 (Babylonischer Talmud übersetzt von A. Wünsche, II, 1, p. 248); Midrasch Bemidbar Rabba (Wünsche), p. 183.

## V.—A NOTE ON THE LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES OF ARDHAMĀGADHĪ PRĀKRIT.

Lüders, in his important *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, has attempted to show that the dialect of the Gobam- is the precursor of Ardhamāgadhi, and that the former dialect is to all intents and purposes identical with the Māgadhan dialect of the Asokan inscriptions; and consequently the dialect of the Gobam- and the Asokan Māgadhan are called "Old Ardhamāgadhi" by him. He also holds that Old Ardhamāgadhi is nearer to Māgadhi than the later Ardhamāgadhi is; and that the later Ardhamāgadhi has a tendency to be levelled by the western dialects. He also cites E. Müller's earlier attempt to connect Ardhamāgadhi with the Asokan Māgadhan, but gives a reference to Pischel who finds that Müller's parallels are not of such a nature to especially connect the two with the exception of the loc. sing. of *a* stems, -ānsi. It should be mentioned that Pischel (see section 17 of his *Grammatik*) holds that it is possible that at the council at Valabhī or Mathurā the original dialect may have acquired a more western color, but that this coloring can not have been very considerable.

A study such as Lüders has undertaken is fascinating; and although I must dissent from the proposition that Ardhamāgadhi is a direct descendant from Asokan Māgadhan, I think it quite certain that Ardhamāgadhi is such a descendant from a dialect that agreed with Asokan Māgadhan in some important respects. And to judge from the fragments, the dialect of the Gobam- is for all intents and purposes the same as Asokan Māgadhan.

The difficulties in investigating the linguistic position of Ardhamāgadhi are considerable. Almost all the Ardhamāgadhi texts are very badly edited, and hence can not be used for linguistic purposes without the utmost caution. And it is patent that the language of even well-edited texts does not represent a dialect spoken at any one time or place. This is shown by such doublets as Amg. chitta, khitta = Sanskrit kṣetra; karissāmi, karēssam, cf. Skt. karisyāmi; āyā, appā = Skt. ātmā; attānam, āyānam, appānam = Skt. ātmānam; bārasa, duvālasa = Skt. dvādaśa. It seems to me that the indispensable pre-

liminary to the final solution of the linguistic affinities of Ardhamāgadhi is the determination of the characteristics of the dialect in which the texts were first written or handed down; and secondly we should know to precisely what dialects doublets should be assigned. I do not see how we may ignore Jaina Śaurasenī, the language of the non-canonical works of the Digambara sect, in such an investigation. But the specimens we have of Jaina Śaurasenī are few in number. The little that we have however shows that it differs not inconsiderably from Ardhamāgadhi, though it clearly belongs with this as opposed to other dialects, taking every thing into consideration. At the same time it is very clear that Jaina Śaurasenī as we have it today is not a uniform dialect, and, like Ardhamāgadhi, does not represent a dialect spoken at any one time or place. The doublets given by Pischel in his *Grammatik*, section 21, are sufficient to show this.

To complicate matters the language of the verses in Ardhamāgadhi is not exactly like that of the prose. Furthermore the other Prākrit dialects are not absolutely uniform. And only a few texts are edited in a truly critical manner. [Pischel's wonderful grammar is an aid in establishing the correct forms of the dialects in poorly edited texts.] However, the agreement of Ardhamāgadhi and Jaina Śaurasenī on any given point certainly points to an old formation. Only, it should be noted that Amg. and JS. at times share the same doublets. Thus JS. ādā corresponds exactly to Amg. āyā (Skt. ātmā), but appā (Skt. ātmā) is common to both. It is probably not usually possible to know whether such dialect-mixture is old or not till we have numerous well-edited texts in Amg. and JS. Nor can we expect to assign each of the doublets to the dialect to which it properly belongs until these conditions are fulfilled.

In the specific case given above it is quite clear that appā is to be charged to the influence of Māhārāṣṭri, for appā is the only form found in Māhārāṣṭri. Pischel gives attā for Śaurasenī and Māgadhi.<sup>1</sup> The fact that Rājaśekhara uses appā in Śau-

<sup>1</sup> However in a footnote he says that in the Śakuntalā, ed. Pischel 1877, at 104.4 appā is to be read with MS I. I confess that I do not understand why. He reads attā in his edition; and, contrary to the proverb, his second thoughts are not wisest; for if attā be the correct form in S. and Mg. it should be read everywhere. To complicate matters observe he cites attā in his grammar at Sak. 104.4.

rasenī [e. g. in the Karpuramañjari, ed. Konow, at i. 8.<sup>1</sup>] proves nothing because it has been shown that Rājaśekhara is very inexact in Saurasenī: see Konow, p. 199 et seq.; Pischel, section 22. [Neither Konow nor Pischel have noted this particular violation of Saurasenī on the part of Rājaśekhara.] A study of the various forms given by Pischel section 401 (see also section 277) irresistibly leads one to the conclusion that the forms with pp throughout the declension are alone correct in Māhārāṣṭrī; as Pischel says, appaṇo is probably everywhere to be read for attaṇo: the manuscripts have variant readings for attaṇo, save that Konow reports none for attaṇo in Rājaśekhara's Karpuramañjari; here again the author is more responsible for the false form than the manuscripts. In my judgment appaṇā in Saurasenī is a false form for attaṇā. Pischel gives but a single citation for it in this dialect, and that in the Vikramorvaśī, ed. Bollensen 1846; as Pischel has said, Bollensen's edition of Mālavikāgnimitra, 1879, is wretched; and it may be that his edition of the Vikramorvaśī is no better: certainly no dialect would have pp in the instrumental singular, but tt elsewhere. [For some reason or other Pischel has neglected to cite tt forms in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī; yet they occur as can be seen in the vocabulary to Jacobi's Erzählungen as well as the grammatical sketch.]

In spite of the difficulties outlined above I think we are in a position to make some tentative suggestions regarding the linguistic affiliations of Ardhamāgadhi. The striking points of resemblance to Asokan Māgadhan are final -e in the nominative singular of a stems and the use of dental n initially and dental nn medially. It will be remembered that on the inscriptions mn is only graphical for nn. And it will also be recalled that both n and nn have various origins, e. g. Ardhamāgadhi, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī anna, Asokan Māgadhan amna, Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī aṇṇa, Māgadhi añña,<sup>2</sup> Pāli añña, Girnar aṇṇa (i. e. añña), Shāhbāzgarhi amña, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra aña (both graphical for añña) = Sanskrit anya; Asokan Māgadhan pumna,

<sup>1</sup> Pischel gives aṇṇa for Māgadhi which violates the rules of the native grammarians according to which ny becomes ū in Māgadhi; note however Māgadhi aññadiśam (Skt. anyadiśam) cited by him; the manuscripts of dramas are at fault as is usually the case in Māgadhi. From Paiśaci aññātisa, cited by Pischel, aññā may be given for that dialect.

Māhārāṣṭri puñña, Māgadhi puñña, Paiśācī puñña, Shāhbazgarhi and Mansehra puña (i. e. puñña), Girnār pumñña (i. e. puñña), Pāli puñña — Sanskrit puṇya. The alleged parallel of Amg. -amsi, the loc. sing. of *a* stems, with Asokan Māgadhan, -asi is false, because -asi is graphical for -assi, and not for -amsi. If -amsi were intended it would be written so, whereas the regular writing is -asi. It will be recalled that in inscriptions single consonants are used for geminated ones. As to the use of l for r in Ardhamāgadhī (it is regular in Asokan Māgadhan, Māgadhi, Dhakkī,<sup>3</sup> and probably Pāñcāla), it occurs also in other Prākrit dialects and also in Pāli, though not as frequently as in Ardhamāgadhī. But consider the enormous number of cases in which r remains in Ardhamāgadhī as compared with the comparatively few cases in which it becomes l. Does Lüders wish to imply that everywhere we find r in Ardhamāgadhī for l, that the r is really foreign to the dialect and is due to a western dialect? The western influence would of course be Māhārāṣṭri. But Pischel has shown that the fundamental character of Ardhamāgadhī has not been affected by Māhārāṣṭri.

In connection with the proposition that Ardhamāgadhī is a direct descendant from Asokan Māgadhan, we should take into consideration that various other Middle Indic dialects are not direct descendants of any Asokan dialects. For example Pāli is not. It has some very striking features in common with the Girnār dialect, others with the dialects of Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra, one with the dialects of Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra and Śiddāpurā, and others with Asokan Māgadhan. At the same time it has features of its own not represented by any Asokan dialect (e. g. the gerund in -tvā retains tv). See Michelson, Transactions of the American Phil. Ass. XL, p. 28, footnote 1.

In the same way Śaurasenī is derived from a dialect that did not coincide exactly with any of the Asokan dialects.<sup>4</sup> Thus it shares the dh of idha with Girnār, also iminā as far as formation is concerned (G. iminā); the sound r with Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra; the change of ly to ll with G. Shb. Mans.; aham with G. Shb. Mans.; the initial bh of bhodi and bhūda with G. Shb. Mans. (G. bhavati, Shb. Mans. bhoti, Asokan

<sup>3</sup> According to Grierson Takki.

<sup>4</sup> As is known, Lüders derives Śaurasenī from his Old Śauraseni.

Māgadhan hoti; G. Shb. Mans. bhūta [written bhuta in Shb. and Mans.], Asokan Māgadhan hūta); -o in the nom. sing. of a stems with G. Shb.; the genitive singular maha with Shb. and Mans. (Mans. maa); the contraction of ava to o in bhodi with Shb. Mans. and Asokan Māgadhan; the change of viy and vy to vv with Shb. Mans. (Girnār vy; Asokan Māgadhan viy in both cases; Kālsī viy and vy respectively); the change of st to tth with Asokan Māgadhan (written th in the latter); the retention of the first a in osadha as well as the dental dh with Asokan Māgadhan (G. osuḍha); the change of sth and śṭh to tth and ṭṭh respectively with Asokan Māgadhan (written th and ṭh respectively); the formation of the instrumental pidunā with Shb. and Mans. (pituna, i. e. pitunā; Asokan Māgadhan pitinā; Girnār pitrā); the assimilation of r to all conjoint consonants with Asokan Māgadhan. To these should be added the change of ks to kkh, kh initially, with Asokan Māgadhan; to judge from the material presented by Pischel sections 317-322, there are only two Śaurasenī words<sup>5</sup> with ech for ks, namely, acchi and riccha: note that in each case there is a Śaurasenī doublet with kkh (akkhi, rikkha) and that in each case Māhārāṣṭri has ech (acchi, riccha); that Śaurasenī often has kkh (kh-) where Māhārāṣṭri has ech (ch-), e. g. khīra, M. chīra, Skt. kṣīra; khētta, M. chētta, Skt. kṣetra; kukkhi, M. kucchi, Skt. kuksi. Either Māhārāṣṭri has influenced Śaurasenī owing to its literary supremacy or the manuscripts of dramas are to be corrected. [On revision I observe that Pischel reports that Rājaśekhara uses chuhā in Śaurasenī for ordinary khuhā (Māhārāṣṭri chuhā, Skt. kṣudhā) according to Konow's edition of the Karpūramāñjari; as Konow reports no variants, his manuscripts compel him to adopt this reading; the Bombay ed. has khuhā; if chuhā is accepted it is simply another of Rājaśekhara's blunders.] That Śaurasenī has features of its own which are not

<sup>5</sup> Pischel, Grammatik, § 321, evidently rejects Śaurasenī pēchadi allowed by Märkandeya: see Hultsch, ZDMG. LXVI, 719. Pischel gives as correspondents to Sanskrit preksate Māhārāṣṭri, Ardhamāgadhi, Jaina Māhārāṣṭri pēchai, Amg. and JM. also picchai, Jaina Śaurasenī pēchadi, Śaurasenī pēkkhadi, Māgadhi pēskadi. See § 84. If we dared to assume that Märkandeya used Digambara texts as a source for his rules on Śaurasenī in the same way that Hemacandra did, as shown by Pischel, the anomaly would vanish.

found in the Asokan dialects but which are not merely due to later sound-changes goes without saying, e. g. the extensive use of the gerund in -ia.

Similarly Māgadhi is not a direct descendant from any Asokan dialect. It shares -e in the nom. sing. of *a* stems, l for r, the assimilation of r in conjoint consonants (with some exceptions, e. g. valīśa, Asokan Māgadhan vassa, written vasa, Skt. varṣa) with Asokan Māgadhan; it shares the contraction of ava to o in bhodi with Asokan Māgadhan, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra; it has in common with Girnār especially idha (Shb. ia, Asokan Māgadhan hida, Skt. iha), the a of dadha (Asokan Māgadhan didha, Skt. dr̥dha), the change of śṭh to śt, the formation of iminā; with G. Shb. Mans. the retention of st, the change of sth to st, the initial bh of bhodi (Shb. Mans. bhoti, Girnār bhavati, Asokan Māgadhan hoti), the formation of the instrumental laññā (G. rāññā, Shb. raña, Pāli raññā, Saurasenī rannā, Ardhamāgadhi and Jaina Māhārāṣṭri rannā and raññā, JM. also rāññā, Paiśacī rāññā and rācinā, Asokan Māgadhan läjinā, Skt. rājñā); with Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra the change of j to y (see JAOS. XXX, p. 83), and the formation of pidunā (Shb. Mans. pitunā, Asokan Māgadhan pitinā, Girnār pitrā). That it had features not held by any Asokan dialect is shown by taśsim (Skt. tasmin, Saurasenī tassim, Māhārāṣṭri, Jaina Māhārāṣṭri, and Jaina Saurasenī tammi, Ardhamāgadhi tamṣi, tammi, tammi, Asokan Māgadhan tasi, i. e. tassi, Girnār and Pāli tamhi, Pāli tasmin; we may infer that Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra had taspi); the nom. acc. pl. of neuter *a* stems in -āim; smi (Skt. asmi, Asokan Māgadhan sumi); numerous gerunds in -ia. I have particularly not mentioned the use of ś and śś as distinguishing Māgadhi from any Asokan dialect because in point of fact there are traces of a dialect having these characteristics, note Kālsī taśi, i. e. taśsi, śiyā, paśavati; Bairat śvage. Lüders, l. c., considers that many of the characteristic phonetic shifts of Māgadhi are secondary, and derives Māgadhi from a dialect in the Bruchstücke which he in turn correlates with the dialect of the Rāmgarh inscription, and names the dialect Old Māgadhi. As the Rāmgarh inscription has ś but lacks certain features of Māgadhi he holds these late; some may be, but not all: as I have shown above some features occur in non-Māgadhan Asokan dialects; so we must consider them old. This makes me hesitate in

supposing all the peculiar features of Māgadhi as secondary. We must rather assume a number of Māgadhan dialects; that one or more of these resembled Asokan Māgadhan more closely than Māgadhi does is quite certain. There was even a dialect in which ś for s occurred (Kālsī; Māgadhisms have largely wiped out the original state of affairs). Hence I can not acquiesce in Lüders' derivation of Māgadhi from his Old Māgadhi.

Again, Māhārāṣṭrī is derived from a dialect that did not coincide exactly with any Asokan dialect. Observe that with the Girnār dialect it shares the a of the first syllable of dadha (Asokan Māgadhan diḍha), the formation of the dative singular of a stems (-āa, Girnār -āya; Asokan Māgadhan, Shb. Mans. -āye [naturally written -aye in Shb. and Mans.]), the words tārisa, eārisa (a late transformation of etārisa); with Girnār, Shb. o in the nom. sing. of a stems (originally so in Mans. but wiped out in favor of Māgadhan -e); with G. Shb. Mans. the change of ly to ll, the loc. sing. of a stems in e, the pronoun aham; with Shb. and Mans. the formation of the inst. sing. piuṇā (Shb. Mans. pituna, i. e. pitunā; Asokan Māgadhi pitinā; Girnār pitrā); with Asokan Māgadhan the ordinary assimilation of r in conjoint consonants, the change of st and sth to tth (written of course in inscription th), the change of śt and śth to t̄th (written ḫ in inscriptions). That Māhārāṣṭrī is derived from a dialect that had features not found in any Asokan dialect is shown by tammi (Girnār tamhi, Asokan Māgadhan tasi, etc.: see above), pp for tm in appā (Skt. ātmā), gerunds in -uṇā. Māhārāṣṭrī shows numerous doublets which are due to dialect-mixture. Note that cch for kṣ occurs quite frequently (e. g. acchi, Skt. akṣi, vaccha, Skt. vṛkṣa, etc.) though as can be seen from Pischel's collections kkh is more common. Rarely the same word has both forms. The forms with cch of course are to be associated with the dialects of Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra. At first blush one might associate the forms with kkh with Asokan Māgadhan, but it is quite certain that at least one r dialect had the change of kṣ to kkh (kh initially): witness Ardhamāgadhi, Saurasenī, Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, Pāli rukkha, Asokan Māgadhan lukha (i. e. lukkha), Mansehra rucha (i. e. ruccha), Vedic rukṣa, Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhi, Saurasenī, Pāli rakkhasa, Sanskrit rāksasa; etc. [Pischel's alleged law governing the use of cch and kkh is en-

tirely untenable: see Michelson, JAOS. XXX, p. 88 and the literature cited there.]

The bearing the above has on the origin of Ardhamāgadhi is this: we have shown that Pāli and a number of Prākrit dialects presuppose early Middle Indic dialects that do not coincide exactly with any Asokan dialects; this furnishes a theoretical possibility that Ardhamāgadhi is derived from an early Middle Indic dialect that does not coincide exactly with any Asokan dialect. The only question is whether any actual proof can be given to substantiate the theoretical possibility. In spite of the difficulties which attend a linguistic study of Ardhamāgadhi (see above), I think there is material enough to prove it.

It is easy to show that Ardhamāgadhi, as we have it in existing texts, contains elements derived from early Middle Indic dialects that do not coincide exactly with any Asokan dialects. Examples proving this are *darisaṇa*, *damsaṇa* (Sanskrit *darśana*, Shb. Mans. *draśana* [i. e. *darśana*], G. *dasaṇa* [i. e. *dassana*]), Asokan Māgadhan *dasana* [i. e. *dassana*; Pāli *dassana*]); *varisa* (Skt. *varaṣa*, Shb. Mans. *vasa*, Girnār *vāsa*, Asokan Māgadhan *vasa* [i. e. *vassa*, Pāli *vassa*] ); *karissanti* (Skt. *kariṣyanti*; per contra Shb. *kaṣamti*, G. *kāsamti* = \**karsyanti*; on Māgadhan *kachamti* see Michelson JAOS. XXXVI, 211). It is also possible to show agreements now with one Asokan dialect, now another. Some striking features in common with the Asokan Māgadhan dialect have been given above. To these could be added the change of *st* and *sth* to *tth*; that of *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh* to *tṭh* (written of course *th* and *ṭh* in the inscriptions respectively); the assimilation of *r* in conjoint consonants; *kkh* for *kṣ*; *h* in *hoi* (Sanskrit *bhavati*, Asokan Māgadhan *hoti*, Shb. Mans. *bhoti*, Girnār *bhavati*); etc. With the Kālsī dialect it shares the *i* of *giha* (Skt. *ṛ̥gha*, Asokan Māgadhan and Māhārāṣṭrī *gaha*). With Girnār it has the first *a* of *daḍha* (Skt. *dr̥ḍha*, Girnār *daḍha*, Asokan Māgadhan *diḍha*), uncontracted *ava* in *bhavai* (G. *bhavati*), *tārisa*, *ghara*; with Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra the sound *r*, *ech* for *kṣ* (e. g. *accha*, Skt. *ṛkṣa*; initially *ch* as in *chitta*, Skt. *kṣetra*), etc. These show the diverse relationships of Ardhamāgadhi in principle, but are too few in number to completely upset Lüders' theory that Ardhamāgadhi is derived from Asokan Māgadhan; for apologists for this view will make use of assumed loan-words from other dialects (and

some can not be altogether denied) to support their case. The following are so numerous and fundamental characteristics of Ardhmāgadhī which differ from Asokan Māgadhan radically, that it is not possible to regard the former as derived from the latter:—the change of viy and vy to vv (Shb. Mans. vv, Girnār vy, Asokan Māgadhan viy in both cases, Kālsī viy and vy respectively), the change of ly to ll (Shb. Mans. G. ll [written l], Asokan Māgadhan yy [? written y]), iha (Sanskrit iha, Shāhbāzgarhi ia, Girnār idha, Asokan Māgadhan hida), evam (Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra; Asokan Māgadhan hevam), emeva (Asokan Māgadhan hemeva), puvva (Asokan Māgadhan puluva, Skt. pūrva), the instrumental piuṇā (Shb. Mans. pituna, i. e. pitunā, Girnār pitrā, Asokan Māgadhan pitinā), the instrumental rannā raṇṇā (Skt. rājñā, Shb. raṇa, G. rāñā, Pāli raññā, Māgadhi laññā, Saurasenī rannā, Paisācī raññā, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī rannā raṇṇā, Asokan Māgadhan lājinā, JM. also rāinā, P. also rāciñā), ayam as a neuter (G. ayam; Asokan Māgadhan iyam), ayam as feminine (Girnār; Asokan Māgadhan iyam), loc. sing. -amsi (Asokan Māgadhan -asi, i. e. -assi, Girnār -amhi, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra -aspi), aham (Skt. aham, G. Shb. Mans. aham, Asokan Māgadhan hakam), amsi (Skt. asmi, Asokan Māgadhan sumi), the favorite gerund in -ttā (Sanskrit -tvā, Girnār -tpā), the gerund in -ttānam (for -tvānam), etc. It should be added that Ardhmāgadhī has nothing corresponding to the characteristic Asokan Māgadhan cu “but,” munisa “man,” kacchatī (written kachati) “he will do,” -eham as the termination of the first person singular of the optative.

We have come to a negative result. Ardhmāgadhī can not be the direct descendant of Asokan Māgadhan nor of any other Asokan dialect now known.\*

*Addition May 24, 1920.*—It is not at all likely that many of the doublets of Ardhmāgadhī were part and parcel of the actual spoken language as is the case with at least certain living Indo-Aryan vernaculars; the evidence of the Asokan dialects opposes such a view; the doublets are far more likely due to faulty transmission of the texts. The fact that lacchī (Skt.

\* I have practically ignored the Asokan dialects of Siddāpurā and Rūpnāth in the above paper, because Māgadhisms are so prevalent in the inscriptions. Both were r dialects.

*lakṣmī*) is found in M., Amg., JM., JS., S., D., A. but always *lakkhaṇa* (Skt. *lakṣmaṇa*) in M., JM., S. shows that some real borrowings must be assumed for the Prākrit dialects.—Pischel, § 277 says *appa-* (Skt. *ātman-*) is common in S. and Mg. only in the nom. sing., but gives no examples. I still think *attā* alone correct for S. and Mg.—The Sānchi stūpa and Bharhut inscriptions show that in the 3d and 2d centuries B. C. there were Indo-Aryan vernaculars which did not coincide exactly with any of the Asokan dialects. See numbers 12, 94, 138, 334, 338, 342 of the former (Tope 1, ed. Bühler in EI. II) and numbers 23, 25, 26, 41, 94, 115 of the latter (ed. Hultzsch in ZDMG. XL).

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## VI.—TULLIANA.

### 1. *triumviris, Ad Att. XVI, 11, 1.*

Atque utinam eum diem videam cum ista oratio (i. e. Philippica II) ita libere vagetur . . . Sed illo tempore opus est *quod fuit illis III viris*. Moriar nisi facete, Att. XVI. 11, 1. The joke of Atticus, contained apparently in the words *illis III viris*, has been diligently sought by all commentators since Manutius, but, so far as I can discover, in vain, though Cicero had a good laugh over it. The futile emendations and attempts at elucidation are indicated by Tyrrell and Purser who repeat the pessimistic conclusion of the Aldine commentator: *Hoc sine epistola Attici non licet nobis divinare*,—advice which is needlessly discouraging. The solution in fact lies quite on the surface.

Our letter is an answer to Atticus' comment upon specific passages of the Second Philippic, which was just being corrected for publication. The point of the joke lies in a play upon the word *III viris*, here not the obvious *triumviri*, but *the three husbands* of Fulvia. To see the point one has only to remember two passages in the oration under discussion in which Cicero suggested that Antony, the third husband of Fulvia, might be expected to meet the same fate as the previous ones, Clodius and Curio. The first is Phil. II, 11: *Quis autem meum consulatum praeter te Publumque Clodium qui vituperaret inventus est? Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id* (i. e. Fulvia) *domi tuae est quod fuit illorum utriusque fatale*. The second is ibid. 113: *Etenim ista tua minime avara conjunx . . . nimium diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem*.

The passage, therefore, has no reference to the triumvirs (Watson) nor to the three Antonii (Gronovius) nor to supposed "husbands of three wives!" (Boot). And best of all, the text needs none of the proposed emendations. The meaning is simply this: I hope to see the day when my oration may be published. But we must bide the time when Antony meets the fate that has already come to those other two of these three husbands. *Moriar nisi facete!*

## 2. The date of the Vatinian law.

Professor Sage in a careful essay on the date of the Vatinian law (A. J. P. 1918, 367 ff.) reaches the novel conclusion that Caesar did not have a province assigned him until late in his consulship. He bases his argument chiefly upon Suetonius' list of events, which he considers chronological in the main, and upon aprioristic considerations of what must have seemed a politically prudent course for Caesar to pursue in the year 59. What was politically expedient cannot now well be determined since we hardly know the day-to-day shifting of the battle-line between Caesar and the Senate. Doubtless Caesar secured himself the proconsulship of Gaul as soon as he possibly could after the death of the incumbent Metellus Celer. The argument based upon Suetonius' order of exposition is also weak. In this very list Suetonius has demonstrably placed the adoption of Clodius and the marriage of Caesar as well as that of Pompey too late. Indeed Suetonius employed in his historical biographies the method of composition that had been developed by Alexandrian literary biographers, according to which the material was blocked out not in chronological order but according to associated topics (Leo, *Die griech.-röm. Biogr.*).

The reasons for believing that the Vatinian law was passed near the first of March are as follows: 1) Caesar's first quinquennium ended on the last of February, 54 B. C. (*Cic. de Prov. Cons.* 37, Hardy, *Jour. Phil.* 1918, 176). This very strongly implies that Caesar secured the province about March 1, 59. 2) Metellus Celer, the preceding governor, died early in 59 (the augurship vacated by his death was being canvassed for in April, as Professor Sage notes). It is not likely that Caesar neglected for long to seize the prize. 3) Caesar promised Cicero a *legatio* under himself by June. Mr. Sage has noticed this (p. 378), but has not seen the full bearing of the passage. *Ad Att.* II, 18, 3 shows that the province of Caesar is known, and that it is so near the city that the *legatus* will be able to visit the city at pleasure (*ad sim cum velim*). 4) Vatinius was the tool of Caesar in carrying the law, and the hatred he incurred in forcing the measure through seems to be referred to as early as April (*Ad Att.* II, 9, 3). 5) An army of Caesar is mentioned in May (*Ad Att.* II, 16, 2). It will not do to assume that this is any

proconsular army that Caesar may later acquire. The context shows that an army already available is meant. What this was we can understand only if Caesar had already taken command over the levies which had been recruited by Metellus during the past year with a view to meeting the Helvetians (*Ad Att.* I, 19, 2, March 60). Indeed Caesar's great haste to secure for himself the Gallic province immediately after Metellus' death was determined in part by the knowledge that this command would place at his disposal strong bands of soldiers at Rome with which he could at an emergency over-awe the senate. We must, therefore, revert to Mommsen's view that the Vatinian law was passed about March first, 59 B. C.

3. *Falsum*, *Ad Att.* I, 16, 10.

*Surgit pulchellus puer, obiicit mihi me ad Baias fuisse. Falsum, sed tamen quid hoc?* Simile est, inquam, quasi in operto dicas fuisse (*Ad Att.* I, 16, 10). Manutius proposed *salsum*, apparently to suit the tone of the context, since he had no means of knowing whether Clodius' charge was true or false. Since his day the scholia Bobiensia have come to light containing fragments of the speech that was later refurbished and published (*In Clod. et Cur.* Stangl, p. 88). The fragments are full enough to show that Cicero did not deny the charge of having been at Baiae, and the scholiast who had the full speech before him implies by his comment that Cicero referred to an estate on the bay of Naples. The scholiast, to be sure, has the well-known *Puteolanum* in mind which in fact had not yet been acquired in 61 B. C. Cicero, however, seems to have procured the villa at Pompeii at about this time. At any rate he mentions visiting his *Pompeianum* not long after (*Ad Att.* I, 20, 1). It is likely, therefore, that Clodius' taunt was based upon accurate information; that Cicero, whose style of living after his consulship had awakened no little comment, had recently purchased, or was on the point of purchasing, the new villa on the fashionable bay, and that Clodius had somehow discovered the fact. If Clodius was on the right scent, Cicero could not have written *falsum* to Atticus who knew the facts. *Salsum*<sup>1</sup> has the added advantage

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Catullus, 12, 4: *salsum*. O and R read *falsum al' salsum*, G has *salsum al' falsum*. Ibid. 14, 15 *salse*. The Oxford ms. reads *false*, R reads *false al' salse*, G has *salse al' false*.

of providing a perfectly clear meaning for the much discussed *sed tamen quid hoc* which follows. The meaning of the whole passage seems to be: He taunts me with visiting Baiae. *Clever of him, but was my answer less so:*<sup>2</sup> ‘One would suppose I had been in hiding as you have’?

#### 4. Curtius Postumus.

In an erudite essay on Cicero’s interesting client, the adventuresome business-man Rabirius Postumus, Dessau suggested a few years ago (*Hermes*, 1911, 613 ff.) that Rabirius—whose name before adoption was C. Curtius Postumus—was probably the same man as the Curtius Postumus who is frequently mentioned as a candidate for political honors in Cicero’s letters. Dessau’s authority is naturally such that his suggestion has been widely accepted as an established fact. The question is important not only in the interpretation of several passages but also in the understanding of Caesar’s social policies. It may, therefore, be worth while to point out that the proposed identification is probably incorrect, and that we should return to the old view (cf. Muenzer, *Pauly-Wissowa*, IV, 1869) which identifies this later Curtius Postumus not with C. Rabirius (C. Curtius) Postumus, but with M. Curtius Postumus for whom Cicero secured a military post with Caesar in 54 B. C.

Rabirius, as will be remembered, became in 55 B. C. superintendent of Ptolemy’s revenues for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the king’s bondholders, Caesar, Pompey, Gabinius and others. In 54 he was brought to trial for his share in Gabinius’ misdoings, defended by Cicero, and probably banished, since he disappeared from view until after the outbreak of the Civil War. There is only one undoubted reference to him later: the *Bell. Africanum*, 8, relates that in 47 Caesar sent him on a commission to Sicily to procure grain for the army in Africa. He is there still called Rabirius, and still identified with business and not with politics.

M. Curtius Postumus, for whom Cicero procured a military tribuneship with Caesar in 54 (*Ad Quint. Fr.* II, 13, 3, and III,

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* Quid refert si hoc ipsum salsum illi . . . videbatur? The passage in question if filled out would read: *sed tamen quid hoc (tibi videtur)?*

1, 10) was of course not Rabirius. His praenomen is Marcus, and if one should care to question the text, chronological considerations are sufficient to guard us from confusing the two men. This M. Curtius remained a partisan of Caesar's throughout; for after Caesar's murder he rebuked Cicero for showing joy at the deed (*Ad Att. XIV*, 9).

Now to consider the Curtius Postumus (praenomen not given) under discussion, like M. Curtius Postumus he was a partisan of Caesar's. At the opening of the Civil War he came down with Caesar and soon visited Cicero, boasting of Caesar's successes [*Ad Att. IX*, 2<sup>a</sup> 3 (Postumus Curtius); *IX*, 3, 2 (Postumus); *IX*, 5, 1 (Postumus); *IX*, 6, 2 (Curtius); *Ad Fam. II*, 16, 7 (Curtius noster dibaphum cogitat). The context shows that all these passages refer to one man]. Four years later this man aspired to the consulship (*Ad Att. XII*, 49, Curtius).

There is furthermore a Postumus (some MSS. read Postumius) who should be identified with this zealous Caesarian on the following grounds. When after Caesar's murder Cicero withdrew from Rome to his Cumæan villa he met a group of Caesar's former lieutenants there—Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa, and M. Curtius—and entered into friendly relations with them (*Ad Att. XIV*, 9-11). Now note the group with which he associated at the same villa two years before: it included Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa, Oppius, Matius, and Postumius (*Fam. VI*, 12, 2). In view of the associates involved in both instances, the last name should, I think, be restored to *Postumus*, and the man is doubtless the same M. Curtius. Again shortly after Cicero's visit just mentioned the young Octavian chose Matius and Postumus (M<sup>1</sup>, Postumius M<sup>2</sup>) as sponsors for the games he was giving in honor of Caesar (*Ad Att. XV*, 2). Here again we are dealing with one of the same group, in a word, with M. Curtius. Finally, in a letter written the day after he received his rebuke from M. Curtius, Cicero mentions Postumus among those who had been enriched by Caesar (*Ad Att. XIV*, 10, 2). The probability is that the same man is in mind.

Since, therefore, M. Curtius Postumus received a military tribuneship from Caesar in 54—an office which made him a close associate of Hirtius, Pansa, Balbus, and Matius—and since he was still a strong Caesarian after Caesar's death, we can hardly

refuse to identify him with the Curtius Postumus who came from Gaul with Caesar's army in 49, who had received much wealth from Caesar, who lived with Caesar's other lieutenants at Cumae in 46 and again in 44, and who shared with Matius the supervision of Octavian's games in 44.

We need therefore not suppose that Caesar elevated the business adventurer Rabirius to high political office. He used the man's business experience in the commissary department, and that is the last we hear of him.

##### 5. Aristotle, Cic. *Quint. Fr.* II, 8, 3.

Habemus hanc philosophiam non ab Hymetto sed ab ἑράσιρᾳ.  
Cic. *Quint. Fr.* II, 8, 3.

App.: araxira G V Cratander in marg.; arazira PI; araxita M<sup>2</sup>al. N; araysira Δ; area Syra A<sup>2</sup> Cratander ed.; area Cyrea, Ernestius; Abdera, Reid.

Cicero has just remarked that he could not invite his invalid friend Marius to his Cumaeian villa because, undergoing repairs, it was full of workmen. As for himself he was so deep in study (cf. *Ad Att.* IV, 10, 1) that he did not mind living there under such disagreeable conditions. By *hanc philosophiam* he means, of course, the Epicurean dictum that one can live pleasantly even in squalor if one possesses the philosophic calm. However, the obscure passage would seem somehow to indicate that Cicero had learned this maxim not from Epicurus himself (Hymettus) but from some other source.

First a word regarding *ab Hymetto*. In *Ad Fam.* XV, 16, Cicero calls Epicurus "Gargettius," from his deme, of course. There has been some discussion regarding the locality of the Gargettian deme (Young, in the *Drisler Studies*). Milchhöfer (*Abh. Akad. Berl.* 1892) has pointed out that the inscriptions mentioning the deme are found on the north spur of Hymettus and northward toward Pentelicus. It seems likely, therefore, that a part of Hymettus was included in the deme and that *ab Hymetto* in this passage is equivalent to *a Gargettio*. At any rate this passage in Cicero ought at least to be included in discussions treating of the locality of Attic demes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Let me add that topographical studies of Athens seem to neglect another item of Epicurean geography (Cic. *De Fin.* V, 3) which locates the κῆρος of Epicurus on the road to Colonus.

It is more difficult to guess the word underlying *ab araysira* or *araxira*. Two or three possibilities occur to me which I would offer in the hope that one of them may some day suggest the master word. The library which Cicero was so avidly reading during these days as to forget bodily discomfort (*Ad Att.* IV, 10, 1) was that of Faustus Sulla, which probably contained the priceless manuscripts of Aristotle (*Plut. Sulla* 26; Strabo, XIII, 1, 54) that Sulla had brought from Athens. Does Cicero mean that in his delight in reading Aristotle he had grown indifferent to surroundings like a very Epicurean? And is the word Στάγεια hidden under *araysira*? For those who are interested in the sources of Cicero's philosophy and rhetorical theories, it would be very interesting to know whether he had direct access to the long unpublished works of Aristotle and Theophrastus in the year 46. It has, of course, been noticed that Cicero quotes more accurately from Theophrastus in his *Orator* and *Brutus* written in 46 B. C. than in his *De Oratore* written some ten years earlier.

There are, however, other possibilities. When Cicero wrote this letter he had recently visited his Epicurean friend Paetus at Naples (*Ad Att.* IV, 9, 2), a man who seems to have had close connections with the distinguished Epicurean philosophers now teaching there, Philodemus and Siro (see *Vergil's Apprenticeship*, II, *Class. Phil.* 1920). Cicero mentions both of these philosophers in laudatory terms during this and the next year (Cic. *De Fin.* II, 119, *Ad Fam.* VI, 11, 2, *Ad Fam.* IX, 26, if *Dioni* should be changed to *Sironi*). Bearing this in mind, we may suppose that Cicero pretends to have been converted to the doctrine by Philodemus the Gadarene, and read *a <Gad>ara Syra* or *a b>aro<ne> Syro* (cf. *Ad Fam.* IX, 26, 3 *ille baro*) or, with Cratander, though not with his connotation, *ab area Syra*; in which case it would be a reference to the κῆπος at Naples. Those who have great faith in Cratander's readings may be inclined to accept the last solution. On paleographical grounds a reference to Aristotle seems to me more probable.

#### 6. Philodemus, *Ad Att.* XII, 6, 2.

While we have Philodemus in mind I would call attention to a possible reference to him in Cic. *Ad Att.* XII, 6, 2. Cicero after expressing to Atticus his admiration for the latter's keen

interest in the minutiae of scholarship (Tyrannio's book on accents is under discussion) says: *Αμο enim πάντα φιλόδημον* (O. Crat.) *φιλεδημον* (M) . . . *scire enim vis, quo uno animus alitur.* Boot accepts the reading of O. Crat. but as a common noun, i. e. hominem in omnibus rebus popularem, but this sense is not in accord with the context, and Tyrrell and Purser are right in rejecting it. Popma's very plausible conjecture *φιλεδημονα* is generally accepted.

However it is usually a good rule of criticism to adopt the ms. reading wherever possible. I wish only to point out that if we leave the reading as it stands and interpret the phrase: "For I love every Philodemus" (i. e. every searcher after knowledge), we arrive at a plausible meaning without recourse to emendation. It is wholly likely that Atticus, the Epicurean, was as good a friend of Philodemus as he was of Patro, the leader of the Athenian garden-school (*Fam. XIII, 1, 5*). Philodemus, on Cicero's own testimony, had unusually wide interests: *est autem . . . non philosophia solum sed etiam ceteris studiis quae fere ceteros Epicureos neglegere dicunt perpolitus* (Cic. *in Pis.* 70); and in *De Fin.* II, 119 Cicero calls him *familiaris* and *doctissimus*. Now it must be admitted that in his *rhetorica* Philodemus shows himself very impatient of rhetorical minutiae, but his numerous works on every subject from economics to music display an unusually wide scholarship for an Epicurean, and it is not unlikely that Atticus had justified his own interest in Tyrannio's erudite work by reference to Philodemus' extensive studies. On such a supposition we may accept the text here as it stands. If we do, we thereby gain a new contemporaneous reference to Philodemus.

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## VII.—APHRODITE: MOTHER EARTH.

The several writers who have given consideration to the possibility that Aphrodite may have been originally an earth goddess, have treated the question in different ways. Dieterich<sup>1</sup> gives us his impression and nothing more: ". . . Aphrodite nimmt besonders leicht den Zug alter Erdgottheit in sich auf, der sie als die alles in Liebesarmung empfangende und erzeugende erscheinen lässt." Miss J. E. Harrison<sup>2</sup> is apparently half-convinced that Aphrodite was primarily of the earth earthy, but will not be so rash as to assert it. Gruppe,<sup>3</sup> with the Iope theory uppermost in his mind, virtually ignores the problem. The fullest treatment of the subject is that presented by L. R. Farnell in his *Cults of the Greek States*,<sup>4</sup> where, after a thorough scrutiny of the evidence drawn from many sources, he reaches the conclusion that the terrestrial aspects of the goddess are the primitive ones. The validity of this judgment is in no wise impaired by a revision of Mr. Farnell's opinion as to the local source of the divinity; when he published his chapters on Aphrodite in the *Cults* (1896) he held that she was largely Oriental, whereas in his *Greece and Babylon* (1911) he maintains that she was almost entirely Aegean, but nevertheless an earth-divinity. Dr. J. Rendel Harris<sup>4\*</sup> has detected the scent of the soil out of which she has been digged, but that she is originally and fundamentally the *mandragora*, or mandrake, as he maintains, I cannot believe; on the other hand, that in certain localities and secondarily she was the mandrake is undeniable.

For several years the present writer has been making a detailed study of the Aphrodite of myth and cult and has come to this same conclusion, although along a different avenue of approach. He has found Farnell's compilation of references bearing upon this phase of the goddess's nature very full, yet he notes the absence of two highly significant passages. The first

<sup>1</sup> *Mutter Erde* (1913), p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 307-315.

<sup>3</sup> *Gr. Myth. und Religionsgesch.*, II, 1343-1375.

<sup>4</sup> II, pp. 642-653; 750-755.

<sup>4\*</sup> *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* III, 4, (1917), pp. 354 ff.

is a fragment of Theopompos<sup>5</sup> preserved in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 69, p. 378 E:

*Tοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν οἰκοῦντας ιστορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ καλεῖν τὸν μὲν χαμῶνα Κρόνον, τὸ δὲ θέρος Ἀφροδίτην, τὸ δ' ἔαρ Περσεφόνην ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεννᾶσθαι πάντα.*

The second passage is a fragment of some epic poet doubtfully attributed to Parmenides:<sup>6</sup>

*αὐτὰρ ὑπ' αὐτήν ἔστιν ἀταρπιτὸς ὁκρυόεσσα  
κοιλη, πηλώδης· ἡ δ' ἡγήσασθαι ἀρίστη  
ἄλσος ἐς ἴμερόν πολυτιμότον Ἀφροδίτης.*

The path thus referred to is regarded as being even lower than the underworld region occupied by Persephone. The fragment, if read in connection with the text in which it is preserved, allows no other inference than that Aphrodite was just as terrestrial as Persephone, whose nature none disputed. Indeed, the two divinities here stand in the same relation to each other as they do in the myth in which they lay their respective claims to Adonis before Zeus in Hades.<sup>7</sup> The one quotation would supplement Farnell's references 107 a-i (pp. 750-751), and the other those numbered 110 a-m (pp. 754-755). The latter, inasmuch as it includes a specific mention of Aphrodite rather than an allusion to her by means of an epithet, is of much more value as an argument than Farnell's reference 110 l.

A recent discovery,<sup>8</sup> however, brings the conclusion as to the primaeva nature of the goddess nearer to certainty. The French excavators have found the sacred "inner" *omphalos* of Delphi, not exactly *in situ*, but nevertheless amid the ruins of a building which there is every reason to believe was the famous *adyton*. This is to be distinguished from the "outer" *omphalos*<sup>9</sup> which came to light a score of years ago and of which Pausanias makes mention.<sup>10</sup> But the "inner" *omphalos* Pausanias, in common with most of the laity, never saw, for he makes no mention of it

<sup>5</sup> FHG I, 293, p. 328.

<sup>6</sup> Diels, Frag. d. Vorsokr., Parm. 20 (dub.) = Philosophoumena, V, 8, ed. Cruice.

<sup>7</sup> Apollodorus, Bibl., III, 14, 4 (183-185).

<sup>8</sup> Miss J. E. Harrison calls it "the greatest religious find of the century" (*The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1915, p. 73).

<sup>9</sup> Bull. de Corr. Hell., 1900, p. 259, fig. 2.

<sup>10</sup> X, 16, 3.

in his description of the contents of the *adyton*;<sup>11</sup> if he had seen it, he could scarcely have failed to note its most striking feature, the inscription engraved upon it. This inscription consists simply of the three characters ΠΤΛ which are at least as old as the seventh century B. C. and are interpreted as the mystic E of Delphi and the divine name ΓΑ, i. e. Earth.<sup>12</sup> The "inner" *omphalos*, then, is not merely the central point of the world or the navel of the earth; it is both of these and is also the very image of Mother Earth herself, who, according to the literature and mythology, was the primitive divinity of the Pythian sanctuary.<sup>13</sup>

This identification throws new light upon an equation of Hesychius that has been noted frequently in discussion of the *omphalos* as a religious symbol: γῆς ὄμφαλός, he says, ἡ Πάφος καὶ Δελφοί. The discovery at Delphi now enables us to see that in reality the words explained by the lexicographer should be written Γῆς ὄμφαλός. If, then, the Delphic *omphalos* is Earth's own image, the conclusion is unescapable that the Paphian *omphalos* is also. But the evidence by no means ends here. That the renowned conical *omphalos* of Paphos was regarded as an image of Aphrodite is expressly recorded by several reliable and independent authorities. Servius<sup>14</sup> tells us: Apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici, vel, ut quidam volunt, metae colitur. Tacitus,<sup>15</sup> in his description of the visit of Titus to the Cyprian shrine, draws the same picture: Illum [i. e. Titum] cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris, inclytum per indigenas advenasque. . . . Simulacrum deae non effigie humana: continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metae modo exsurgens. Maximus of Tyre,<sup>16</sup> though employing another comparison, testifies clearly to the contour of the image:

<sup>11</sup> X, 24, 5.

<sup>12</sup> F. Courby, Comptes rend. de l'Acad. des Inscr., 1914, p. 268. For a photographic reproduction and a full description of the stone see this article.

<sup>13</sup> Aesch., Eum., 1-8; Eurip. Iph. in T., 1234 ff.; see Miss J. E. Harrison, Themis, pp. 384 ff., pp. 396 f.; Dieterich, Mutter Erde (1913), p. 60. On *omphalos* see also Miss Harrison in Quiggin, Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway, pp. 150 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Ad Verg. Aen. I, 720.

<sup>15</sup> Hist. II, 2-3.

<sup>16</sup> Diss. II, vii Hobein (VIII, 8).

*τὸ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἀν εἰκάσαις ἀλλω τῷ η πυραμῖδι λευκῇ, η δὲ ὑλη ἀγνοεῖται.*  
 That the *simulacrum*, though symbolical, was nevertheless held to be a real statue is clear from the narrative in which Philostratus<sup>17</sup> tells of the visit of Apollonius of Tyana to the Paphian sanctuary: *νέως . . . ἐπιτυχόντες προσπλεῦσαι Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν Πάφον, οὐ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδος, ὃ ἔνυμβολικῶς ιδρυμένον θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἀπολλόνιον, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ιερέας ἐς τὴν ὄσιάν τοῦ ιεροῦ διδαξάμενον ἐς Ἰωνίαν πλεῦσαι . . . .*

Now it can be seen at a glance that the value of the archaeological and literary evidence depends wholly, in this connection, upon the statement of Hesychius. If the latter is true, then one is forced to regard the omphalic image of Aphrodite in the Cyprian shrine as also an image of Earth; in short, that Aphrodite is herself Earth. Moreover, there would emerge the possibility, if not the probability, that Aphrodite's name signifies 'earth,' in which event it would assuredly be non-Hellenic. If this clue can be followed to a successful conclusion scholars may be able thereby to account in detail for the multiform nature of the Greek goddess of love.

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<sup>17</sup> Vita Apoll., III, 58.

### VIII.—PETRARCH ON AUGUSTUS' LETTERS.

Since writing a brief study on the correspondence of Augustus<sup>1</sup> I have run across an interesting allusion to a collection of his letters, which was supposed to be extant in the fourteenth century, an allusion which is mentioned in none of the present histories of Latin Literature in the discussion of the writings of Augustus.

Petrarch in his *Rerum Memorandarum Libri* (I, 2) says: *Scripsit et epigrammatum librum et epistolarum ad amicos conditum facetissima gravitate et luculentissima brevitate, quod opus inexplicatum et carie semesum, adolescenti mihi admodum in manus venit, multum frustraque quaesitum.*

Did this manuscript, of which Petrarch seems to have had so vivid a recollection, actually contain some collection of Augustus' letters, possibly the one mentioned by Gellius (XV, 7), *liber epistularum divi Augusti quas ad Gaium nepotem suum scripsit?* Or did Petrarch in his later life have *too* vivid a memory of some of the manuscripts which he had seen in his youth, before his enthusiasm was tempered by a tendency toward careful investigation? Bauemker (*Quibus antiquis auctoribus Petrarca in conscribendis Rerum Memorabilium Libris usus sit*, p. 9, ft. n. 2) comments with a *haud scio an.* Voigt (*Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, ed. 1893, p. 41) skeptically classes this manuscript of Augustus' letters with those which Petrarch thought he had seen of some of Varro's works and of Cicero's *De Gloria*, and concludes that he was mistaken about them all.

It is possible to understand how Petrarch may have thought that he had seen the *De Gloria*, although it was in reality the *Tusculans*, especially if, as Voigt (p. 40) suggests, some copyist impressed by what seemed to him a significant part of the work had attached the title *De Gloria* to a manuscript of the *Tusculans*, or to some section of the manuscript. But it is not easy to see with what Petrarch could have confused a book of Augustus' letters and epigrams. It seems that the testimony of Petrarch should at least be considered in any weighing of evidence for and against the publication of Augustus' letters.

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<sup>1</sup> *Augustus as a Letter-Writer*, T. A. P. A. XLIX, 53-66.

## REPORTS.

### RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, LXXII, 3 and 4.

Pp. 321-352. Eduard Fraenkel, Lyrische Daktylen (continuation and conclusion of pp. 161 ff.; see AJP XL 212). The author examines a number of dactylo-iambic (-trochaic, -epitrite) poems. As a result of this examination he concludes that in the so-called dactylo-epitrite rhythm the dactyls are real dactyls historically and formally, though he concedes that in fifth-century poems of the strict dactylo-epitrite type the normal dactylic member as well as the double epitrite might be used as equivalents of an ionic dimeter.

Pp. 353-373. V. Gardthausen, Namen und Zensus der Römer. This paper treats of the influence that was exercised by the Roman censor on the determination of the exact form of the Roman name. It was the duty of the censor, among other things, to prepare a complete list of the full names of all Roman citizens. The author studies in succession the various elements (*praenomen*, *nomen gentilicium*, *nomen patris aut patroni*, *tribus* and *cognomen*) that compose the Roman official name, and shows how in each case the influence in question might be exerted. Incidentally, the article is a remarkably clear exposition of the theory of the Roman name and removes many of the difficulties attaching to that subject.

Pp. 374-402. Friedrich Wilhelm, Der Regentenspiegel des Sopatros. Interpretation of Sopater's letter to Hemerius entitled *Πῶς δεῖ πράττειν τὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένην αὐτῷ ἡγεμονίαν* (Stob. IV, p. 212, 13 ff., Hense). In the course of the interpretation Wilhelm presents copious citations of parallel passages from ancient paraenetic literature, and a multitude of references to the works of modern writers that have contributed to the elucidation of the subject. He reaches the conclusion that the author of the treatise is the sophist and philosopher Sopater of Apamea, the pupil of Jamblichus, and he brings out the fact that this Sopater was for a time the friend and protégé of Constantine the Great, but that he subsequently fell into disfavor with the emperor and was executed at his command not later than 337. He further shows that the writer of the letter is probably identical with the Sopater to whom Jamblichus addressed various letters that have been preserved by Stobaeus. Finally, he points out that Eunapius calls him an *ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν τε καὶ γράψαι δεινότατος* and that Suidas attributes to him a *Περὶ προνοίας*, and that therefore Focke, Quaest. Plut., Muenster, 1911, is probably right in

assigning to him also, rather than to the younger Sopater († 364/5), the Ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι described by Photius.

Pp. 403-425. Ernst Howald, Zu den Iliasscholien. With a view to enlarging our understanding of the nature and relationship of the various classes of Homeric scholia (BT, A, D, Eu-stathius, etc.), Howald makes a detailed study of the Homeric scholia furnished by Oxyrhynchus Papyri 221 and 1086.

Pp. 426-436. S. Schwyzler, Zu griechischen Inschriften. 1. Interpretation of the Thessalian Sotairos IS (Solmsen, Inscr. sel.<sup>3</sup>, No. 11). 2. Αἰναιός (IG IX 2 p. XI nr. III) is an Aeolic form derived from \*Αἰναιός, which by haplology comes from \*Αἰνιαναίος. Αἰναιον νέμος is the "Aenianian woodland." 3. Thessalian Ναυσικαῖος (IG IX 2, 1228) and Homeric ΝΑΥΣΙΚΑΑ. The Ναυσικαῖοι are the sons of a Ναυσικᾶς. Homeric Ναυσικάα was written for ΝΑΥΣΙΚΑ = ΝΑΥΣΙΚΚΑ = \*Ναυσίκκα or \*Ναύσικκα, a pet-name (cp. Ναύσικος). 4. ΑΜΑΤΑ (IS Έφ. ἀρχ. 1905, 74) = ἄματα (from ἀ priv. + \*ματός) = ἀδόλως. So ἄμαται τέχναι χρεύμενος (IS from Dodona, Hoffmann DI 1568) = ἀδόλῳ τέχηγ χρώμενος.

Pp. 437-445. Kraüters, Perdikkas und die letzten Plaene Alexanders: Eine Studie zu Diod. XVIII 4, 1-6, by Heinrich Endres. The passage of Diodorus treats of the decision which, after the death of Alexander, was reached by Perdiccas and the army to drop the prosecution of the vast undertakings that had been projected by the late king. Diodorus was indebted to Hieronymus of Cardia for this information. The absence of Craterus with ἐντολαὶ ἔγγραπτοι issued to him by Alexander is one of the cardinal points of the narrative. The ὑπομνήματα are but another name for the ἔφημερίδες. The ἐντολαὶ ἔγγραπτοι, the βεβουλευμένα and the ἐπιβολαὶ all refer to the same thing. Selfishness was the prime motive that led Perdiccas to abandon the execution of Alexander's plans.

Pp. 446-463. A. W. de Groot, Ptolemaios der Sohn. De Groot maintains that thus far no one has succeeded in identifying with any definite historic personality the νιὸς Πτολεμαίον that is mentioned as co-regent over Egypt during the years 267-259 of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He does not see how the hypothesis of a person other than Euergetes as the co-regent can be reconciled with the position that Euergetes held before his accession to the throne. He therefore concludes that Euergetes himself was the co-regent, and believes that Euergetes' desire not to wound the susceptibilities of the people of Cyrene affords a satisfactory explanation of the termination of the co-regency.

Pp. 464-472. K. Busche, Zu Senecas Buechern de beneficiis und de clementia. Critical notes on De benef. 1, 3, 3; 2, 8, 2;

2, 14, 2; 2, 34, 3; 4, 5, 1; 4, 8, 1; 4, 20, 3; 4, 24, 1; 5, 3, 1; 6, 31, 11; 6, 35, 5; 7, 2, 1; De clem. 1, 12, 3.

Pp. 473-478. A. Brinkmann, Kallimachos Kydippe. Critical edition of Oxyrhynchus Pap. No. 1011. New emendations are presented in verses 39-41, which, with the appended critical notes, are as follows:

κούρην, ἡ δ' ἀνὰ τῷ πᾶν ἐκάλυψεν ἔπος  
κῆν αὖ σῶς· ὁ τ[ε] λοιπόν, Ἀκόντιε, σεῖο μετελθεῖν  
ἔσται τὴν ιδίην ἐς Διονυσιάδα.

39 ἀνὰ τῷ Brinkmann: ανετωσ P 40 κήρυνσωσ P, dist. Schwister [a former member of the Bonn Seminary] ὁ τ[ε] Brinkmann σεῖο pr. ε del. P.

Pp. 479-480. F. Atenstaedt, Zu Stephanos von Byzanz. Γέντρα, St. B., s. v., is a corruption of Πεντάπολις, Ptol. 7, 2, 2. The author also cites a string of entries from Stephanus of Byzantium, some of which certainly, and the rest probably, were derived from the first book of the per. mar. ext. of Marcian.

Pp. 481-518. H. Kallenberg, Bausteine zu einer historischen Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Historical exhibit, with statistics from Homer to Cantacuzene, of the use of *τοῦ* (*τού*), *τῷ* (*τῷ*); *ἄττα*, *τινά*; the genitives and datives of *ὅστις*; and *ἄττα*, *τινά*.

Pp. 519-526. W. Soltau, Nochmals die Enniusfinsternis. Soltau shows once more that the solar eclipse reported by Ennius (see Cic. De rep. 1, 16, 25) cannot be identified with the solar eclipse of the year 400 B. C. The text of Cicero, as the Vaticanus or its corrector has it, is wrong, and originally the word quingentesimo stood before the word quinquagesimo. The Ennian eclipse would thus have for its date Non. Iun. DL, which must be equated with May 6, 203 B. C.

Pp. 527-536. B. Sauer, Favorinus als Gewaehrsmann in Kunstdingen. Sauer accepts the Pseudo-Dionean thirty-seventh and sixty-fourth orations as works of Favorinus of Arelate, the pupil of Dio Chrysostomus. From a study of all the passages relating to art in these orations and in the fragments of Favorinus, he concludes that Favorinus is a valuable source of information on matters of art, and that even his unsupported testimony must in general be regarded as trustworthy.

Pp. 537-593. Arthur Ludwich, Plutarch ueber Homer. Among the works of Plutarch is found a treatise that in the printed editions bears the title *περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ποίησεως Ὁμήρου*. This treatise was intended as a pedagogic manual (*πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων παιδεύεσθα:*), and served its purpose admirably. From the point of view of textual criticism, the work has been sadly neglected, and not even the printed title is

based on MS authority. Ludwich makes a vigorous protest against this grievous neglect, and paves the way for the preparation of a critical edition by presenting the results of a study based on the collation of four entire MSS, portions of seven others, and specimens of yet three others. The MSS studied by Ludwich fall into two groups (designated by him as  $\Psi$  and  $\Omega$ ), which are so radically different that they cannot possibly have been derived from the same archetype. The printed editions say practically nothing about this divergence of tradition, but editors, upon the whole, follow the text of  $\Psi$ . Ludwich shows that  $\Omega$ , in spite of its many corruptions, possesses much independent value, and that the two groups must be used to supplement each other. There is no sign in either  $\Psi$  or  $\Omega$  of a partition of the treatise into two books such as is found in the printed editions. The title of the work is  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\Omega\mu\eta\rho\nu$  in  $\Psi$ , and  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omega\beta\iota\sigma\tau\omega\Omega\mu\eta\rho\nu$  in  $\Omega$ . Ludwich thinks that  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\Omega\mu\eta\rho\nu$  is the more appropriate title, though he doubts whether it was the original one since the present treatise is a collection of excerpts from a much larger work. A third recension of the  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\Omega\mu\eta\rho\nu$  is evidenced by the eight excerpts preserved in Stobaeus' Anthology, which serve to bring into still bolder relief the epitomic character of the work. A whole chapter is devoted to the refutation of the arguments against the authenticity of the treatise. Another chapter shows that in the matter of Homeric exegesis Plutarch largely followed the Alexandrian scholars, especially Aristarchus, but when he allows himself the luxury of etymologizing on his own account, he does not appear to advantage. A study of Plutarch's relation to Homeric textual criticism affords Ludwich the opportunity once more to come to the defence of his view that of the three classes of texts which he posits for Homer (vulgata texts, texts characterized by 'plus' verses and the omission of vulgata verses, and texts that embody the results of Alexandrian criticism), the vulgata text is pre-Alexandrian and dates from the best period of Greek poetry. He then shows that Plutarch followed the second class of texts; that as a verbal critic he was eclectic, sometimes capricious, not always consistent; and, finally, that there is nothing about the Homeric citations in the  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\Omega\mu\eta\rho\nu$  that would warrant the inference of non-Plutarchean authorship.

Pp. 594-615. M. Boas, Die Lorscher Handschrift der sog. Monosticha Catonis. With the aid of the Lorsch collection (Cod. Vatic. Palat. 239, f. 3<sup>r</sup>, s. X) of the so-called Monosticha Catonis, Boas shows that there were two distinct MS traditions, which he designates as  $\phi$  and  $\chi$  respectively. To the  $\chi$  class belong the Lorsch MS and the MS from which Alcuin copied his collection of the Monosticha. To the original collection from which both  $\phi$  and  $\chi$  are derived Boas applies the symbol  $\omega$ . The title of the  $\omega$  collection was "Sententiae generales in singu-

lis versibus." The absence of the name of Cato from the title is due to the fact that the collection comprised also proverbs of different provenience. By combining  $\phi$  and  $\chi$  Boas reconstructs the contents of  $\omega$  in their proper order. In the concluding section he demonstrates the importance of using both  $\phi$  and  $\chi$  for purposes of textual criticism, and points out that even for the testimony of the  $\phi$  class Paris. 9347 does not alone suffice.

Pp. 616-625. Oskar Klotz, Zu Aischylos thebanischer Tetralogie. Klotz gives a different interpretation of the passages of the Septem that have been supposed to contain an allusion to the expedition of the Epigoni. He also attempts to reconstruct the action of the tetralogy along simpler lines than those of Robert. In the Laius, the king makes a futile endeavor by the exposure of Oedipus to avert the evil consequences of his disobedience to the oracle of Apollo; in the Oedipus, the hero is banished by his sons and pronounces the terrible curse upon them; in the Septem, Eteocles voluntarily meets Polynices in mortal combat in order to compass the extinction of the race of Laius and thereby to effect the salvation of Thebes; and in the Sphinx, Oedipus (not the Silenus, as Robert thinks) overcomes the monster by solving the riddle.

Pp. 626-632. M. Wallies, Zur Textgeschichte der ersten Analytik. Critical study of a number of passages of Aristotle's Prior Analytics. The passages considered are 24 a 16, 24 a 28, 24 b 29, 26 a 2, 42 b 13, 44 b 38, 31 a 17, 32 a 5, 42 a 28, 42 b 6, 49 a 24, 45 a 12, 44 a 2. The author shows the influence of the ancient commentaries on the MS text.

Pp. 633-640. Miszellen: T. O. Achelis, Erasmus ueber die griechischen Briefe des Brutus (632-638). When Erasmus, in a letter of May 27, 1520, to Beatus Rhenanus says, "Porro quas nobis reliquit, nescio quis Bruti nomine, nomine Phalaridis, nomine Senecae et Pauli, quid aliud censeri possunt, quam declamatiunculae?" he is not thinking of the Latin letters of Brutus to Cicero, as Ruehl, Rhein. Mus. LXX 315 f., thinks, but of the Greek letters that bear the name of Brutus, which were published along with the letters of Phalaris and those of Apollonius in the editio princeps of 1498.—Ernst Graf, Zu Plutarchs Symposiaca (638-639). In Quaest. Conv. VIII 6, 5 (727 a), for  $\tauὸ\ \deltaὲ\ καὶ\ δέρε\ καὶ\ δέντης\ τὸ\ ὄδόντας$  read  $\tauὸ\ \deltaὲ\ καὶ\ καλούν\ \deltaέρε\ καὶ\ κτλ.$ —A. Brinkmann, Lueckenbuesser (639-640). Cleanthes, fr. 570 v. Arnim, consisting of four iambic trimeters, is cited not only by Galen, but also, more correctly, by Gregorius Palamas (p. 2, 3 ff. Jahn). In Palamas' version, the third line starts with  $vāl$ , and Meineke's conjecture is thus confirmed.—F. Wilhelm, Nachtrag (640). Addenda and corrigenda to pp. 374-402.

C. W. E. MILLER.

ROMANIA, Vol. XLIV (1915, 1916-1917), Nos. 174, 175-6.  
(Cf. AJP XXXVII, 364.)

Juillet-Octobre, 1915.

Paul Meyer. Manuscrits médicaux en français. 54 pages. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century it became customary in France to write medical treatises in the vulgar tongue. Some of these treatises were mere translations from the Latin, while others were originally written in French. The latter no doubt appealed more particularly to those women who eagerly devoted themselves to medical and surgical practice; while to the modern scholar it is the lexical material to be found in them that is of especial value. The famous author of this article gives also certain reminiscences of his own early manhood, when he was employed in copying Latin and French medical treatises in mediæval manuscripts for Dr. Daremburg. The latter devoted much time to this subject from about the year 1850 to 1872, when he died without publishing his scholarly work.

Ernest Muret. Fragments de manuscrits français trouvés en Suisse. 9 pages. I. Fragments d'une chanson de geste perdue. These strips of parchment were found in the bindings of certain sixteenth-century manuscripts preserved in the archives of Geneva. They are herewith published with a brief introduction and scanty notes. II. Fragment d'un manuscrit du Roman de Troie. This bit of soiled parchment had been used to wrap up a sixteenth-century seal of the Berne republic.

Giulio Bertoni. Scene d'amore e di cavalleria in antichi arazzi estensi. 14 pages. Early inventories of Italian tapestries describe in some detail a number of scenes familiar to students of Old French literature. Among them may be mentioned the early epics and the *Roman de la Rose*.

Albert Dauzat. Etymologies françaises et provençales. 20 pages. Etymologies of eleven words and groups of words are discussed in some detail.

Mélanges. M. Wilmotte, L'auteur des branches II et Va du Renard et Chrétien de Troyes. A. Guesnon, A. Långfors, Notes et corrections aux chansons de Raoul sisde Soons. Giulio Bertoni, Osservazioni al testo del Doctrinal di Raimon de Castelnou. Paul Marchot, Anc. français Eschepir, Eschapir. Paul Marchot, Anc. français Talemelier. Giulio Bertoni, Nota sul dialetto di Bonifacio (Corsica).

Comptes rendus. E. Gamillscheg et L. Spitzer, Die Bezeichnungen der "Klette" im Galloromanischen (Antoine Thomas). Stefan Glixelli, Les cinq poèmes des trois morts et des trois vifs

(A. Långfors, A. Jeanroy). L. F. Paetow, The Battle of the seven Arts (Memoirs of the University of California) (A. Jeanroy: "La partie la plus importante de cette nouvelle édition du petit poème d'Henri d'Andeli consiste dans les notes, qui apportent sur l'état des études au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle des renseignements abondants et précis.") Eero Ilvonen, Parodies de thèmes pieux dans la poésie française du moyen âge (Arthur Långfors). S. Strónski, La légende amoureuse de Bertran de Born (A. Jeanroy). Alfred Jeanroy, Les Joies du Gai Savoir (Arthur Långfors).

Périodiques. Butlletí de dialectologia catalana, t. I, II (J. Jud). Le Moyen Age, XXI<sup>e</sup>-XXV<sup>e</sup> année (G. Huet). Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, XXXIV<sup>e</sup>, XXXV<sup>e</sup> année (Arthur Långfors); XXXV<sup>e</sup> (suite)-XXXVII<sup>e</sup> année (Ernest Muret). Revue des Langues romanes, t. LVI (L. Foulet). Studj romanzi, vol. VI (Giulio Bertoni). Zeitschrift für französische sprache und litteratur, t. XL-XLII (J. R.)

Chronique. Retirement of M. P. Meyer from the directorship of the Ecole des Chartes. "La Sorbonne a bénéficié, cet hiver, de la présence de M. C. H. Grandgent, de l'Université Harvard, qui a fait, de novembre à mars, un cours sur Dante et son œuvre." Lectures by Belgian professors.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 5 titles. Henry Raymond Brush, La Bataille de Trente (A. Långfors).

Janvier-Octobre, 1916-1917.

Antoine Thomas. Nouvelles variétés étymologiques. 36 pages. The etymologies of some thirty-two words and groups of words are discussed.

Gustave Cohen and Karl Young. The Officium Stellæ from Bilsen. 16 pages. Between the modern towns of Tongres and Maestricht in Belgium there existed in mediæval times the monastery of Bilsen, and here towards the end of the eleventh century there was written a Nativity play in Latin which has many points of interest for the history of the drama. The text is here published with introduction and notes from the unique manuscript in the library of the Bollandists in Brussels. [Note by G. C. K.: On June 29, 1897, when I visited this library I was told that at the time their manuscripts were transferred to the Bibliothèque Royale a few volumes were overlooked. The manuscript in question here must be one of the latter class. On this occasion fifteenth-century editions of the *Speculum Historiale* and the *Speculum Doctrinale* of Vincentius Bellovacensis were inspected by me.]

M. Wilmotte. *Le Rodlieb, notre premier roman courtois.* 34 pages. There have been preserved in a Latin manuscript now at Munich a series of fragments of a mediæval Latin epic which have given rise to much discussion among scholars. Several German investigators have argued that the author of these fragments was one of their countrymen; and now the well-known Liege professor has entered the lists in favor of a French origin. The former endeavor to localize the story at Tegernsee, the latter would have us consider the banks of the Meuse its original home. Perhaps some day the question may be definitely decided in the light of a fuller knowledge still to be gained.

E. Walberg. *Date et source de la Vie de saint Thomas de Cantorbéry par Benet, moine de Saint-Alban.* 20 pages. The murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Dec. 29, 1170, created such a wave of popular interest in his career that numerous lives were written both in Latin and French. Benet, a monk of Saint-Alban, wrote a French poem on the subject, which is here investigated as to both date and source. The writer decides for the year 1184 and a lost Latin life by Robert de Cricklade as being the most probable.

G. Huet. *La légende de la Montagne d'aimant dans le roman de Berinus.* 27 pages. The hero's ship is irresistibly drawn to the fabulous magnet in mid-ocean. This story is found as far back as the time of Pliny the Elder, and it is extant in many versions. The Old French forms of the legend are here studied and compared.

A. Jeanroy et A. Långfors. *Chansons inédites tirées du manuscrit français 1591 de la Bibliothèque nationale.* 57 pages. Thirty-eight songs considered by the present editors to be preserved only in this Paris manuscript are here edited critically. They are all of them anonymous.

A. Långfors. *Le Tournoiement d'enfer, poème allégorique et satirique tiré du manuscrit français 1807 de la Bibliothèque nationale.* 48 pages. This poem was apparently written in the neighborhood of Blois, as is evidenced by both allusions and dialect. It is here critically edited.

Arthur Långfors. *Le fabliau du moine; Le dit de la Tremontaine, deux poèmes inédits, tirés du manuscrit 2800 de la bibliothèque du baron James de Rothschild.* 16 pages. These short pieces are here edited critically, after their characteristics have been briefly described.

J. J. Salverda de Grave. *Poème en quatrains conservé dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque d'Amsterdam.* 11 pages. This little poem was copied in the fourteenth century on a fly-leaf of the famous tenth-century manuscript of Caesar preserved in the library of Amsterdam.

Mélanges. A. Jeanroy, "Ne garder l'eure," histoire d'une locution. Giulio Bertoni, *Un nuovo frammento della versione perduta del Roman de Troie di Benoit de Sainte-More.*

Comptes rendus. Giulio Bertoni, *I trovatori d'Italia* (Arthur Långfors). Gédéon Huet, *Chansons et descorts de Gautier de Dargies* (Arthur Långfors). Hjalmar Crohns, *Die Bewertung der Frau unter dem Einfluss der Cölibatsidee; Legenden och medeltidens latinska predikan och exempla; Några Scripta supposititia* (Arthur Långfors). O. J. Tallgren, R. Eller, *Studi su la lirica italiana del Duecento: "De la mia disianza"* (Giulio Bertoni). Ernest F. Langley, *The poetry of Giacomo da Lentino*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915 (Giulio Bertoni). Ludovico Frati, *Rimatori bolognesi del Trecento* (Giulio Bertoni). Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nova . . . traduite par Henry Cochin, 2<sup>e</sup> éd.* (Henri Hauvette). Viggo Bröndal, *Notes d'étymologie romane* (J. Jud).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Francesco Novati and Régis Michalias.

Publications annoncées.

Collections et publications en cours.

Compte rendu sommaire. 1 title. Blanche Sutorius, *Le débat provençal de l'âme et du corps* (texte critique).

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

## REVIEWS.

The Correspondence of Marcus Aurelius Fronto with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Lucius Verus, Antoninus Pius, and Various Friends. Edited and for the first time translated into English by C. R. HAINES. Vol. I. London: W. Heinemann, 1919. 309 pp.

Martial: Epigrams, with an English translation by WALTER C. A. KER. Vol. I. London: W. Heinemann, 1919. 491 pp.

Ausonius: with an English translation by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE. Vol. I. London: W. Heinemann, 1919. 397 pp.

These three recent volumes of the Loeb Classical Library may be mentioned here together. In each case the translator has done his work well. Apparently, both Ausonius and Fronto are now offered in English for the first time.

The text of Fronto has been carefully revised, and an attempt made to arrange the letters in their approximate chronological order. The early editors of the book were disappointed with the nature and contents of the work, and had no good word to say either for it or for its author. Mr. HAINES is much more sympathetic and appreciative, as might be expected from his excellent edition of Marcus Aurelius (Loeb Classical Library, 1916). But it is hard to share his enthusiasm for these letters, even though, in Pater's phrase, they recall for him "the long buried fragrance of a famous friendship of the ancient world." Certainly, they offer very little to justify the great reputation which Fronto long enjoyed.

There are a few misprints: p. 36, l. 1, 'tuas' for 'tuus'; p. 156, l. 13, 'exempla' for 'exemplo'; p. 220, l. 10, 'Ego' for 'Ergo'; p. 228, l. 14, 'at' for 'a.' On p. 125, l. 5, the word 'not' is omitted; on p. 284, l. 2, the word 'qui' has been dropped. On p. 15, l. 14, we have 'from Rome' for 'to Rome.' On p. 269, l. 24, the phrase 'disputes between public bodies and individuals' is rather misleading; the meaning is, disputes between public bodies and disputes between individuals.

The text used for Mr. KER's translation of Martial is the text published in Bell's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* (1905). For some of the 'wholly impossible' epigrams, Graglia's Italian version is called into service, as it was in Bohn's Classical Library.

On p. 23, l. 2, the translation does not fit the text adopted. In 6, 82, 3, the line 'cum vultu digitoque subnotasset' is trans-

lated: 'when he had furtively observed me and pointed me out.' The old interpretation seems better: the man eyed Martial and felt him all over. The Caecilius Secundus of 7, 84, 1 can hardly be the younger Pliny.

On p. 321, l. 9, 'Flacilla' should be 'Flaccilla'; p. 333, l. 23, 'these' is printed for 'there'; p. 441, l. 17, the word 'with' is omitted; p. 445, l. 16, the word 'not' is omitted. Friedlaender's name is regularly misspelled.

The bibliography is one of the casual sort which we sometimes get in the Loeb series. It omits Lindsay's excellent edition (Oxford, 1902). It dutifully records three English school editions (one of them of the vintage of 1868) but makes no mention of the scholarly edition by Edwin Post in the College Series of Latin Authors (1908).

The text of Ausonius here used is Peiper's (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886). Even his vagaries of spelling are faithfully retained. Ausonius is not always easy to translate; but Mr. WHITE has shown much ingenuity in dealing with the Technopaegnion and with some of his other curiosities of literature. The form of the amazing 'rhopalic' prayer could hardly have been reproduced; and the translation of the Cento Nuptialis must have been from the outset a rather hopeless task. Moreover, a part of it had to be left in Latin; apparently the translator had no convenient Graglia to fall back on.

On p. 26 (*Ephem.* 8, 3) 'area' should be 'aera.' The footnote on p. 336 has 'traxi' for 'traxit,' and 'manipulorum' for 'manipulario.' On p. 227, l. 24, 'eyots' is hardly a fair word to use outside of Eton.

Some of Ausonius' obvious borrowings from earlier writers are indicated in the notes, but the reader who is very jealous for Vergil will easily mark a good many others. Compare, for example, Mosella, 381, salve magne parens frugumque virumque, Mosella, with Geor. 2, 173, salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus, magna virum; or Mosella, 454, addam urbes, tacito quas subterlaberis alveo, moeniaque antiquis te prospexit muris, with Geor. 2, 155, adde tot egregias urbes . . . fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros. The line stringentem ripas et pingua culta secantem is taken bodily from Aen. 8, 63. A great many parallels of this kind have already been set forth in Peiper's edition; but there are other passages, even in this one poem Mosella, which neither Peiper nor Manitius has noted. Cp. 242, heu male defensos, with Geor. 1, 448, heu male . . . defendet; 305, operumque labores, with Geor. 2, 155, operumque laborem; 97, nec te . . . transierim, with Geor. 2, 101, non ego te . . . transierim; 355, atria quid memorem, with Aen. 6, 123, quid memorem Aleiden? The expression vivique lacus, 477, comes from Geor. 2, 469.

W. P. MUSTARD.

**Latin Epigraphy, an Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions.** By Sir JOHN EDWIN SANDYS. Cambridge University Press, and Putnam, 1919. \$3.75 net.

American methods of instruction in Latin epigraphy have changed from time to time. Thirty years ago collections like Wilmann's were used with good results in a substantial study of inscriptional material. After the founding of the American School at Rome the courses in Epigraphy increased, but the methods of instruction were gradually altered. The examining committees which set the papers for the prospective students of the school naturally emphasized the need of a technical knowledge of epigraphy rather than a general acquaintance with the contents of many inscriptions; and accordingly our university lecturers who undertook to prepare students for the examinations lectured more and more upon the formal details of the science. This method had its advantages for those who worked only to prepare themselves well for a profitable year at Rome, but for the great number of students, who had time for only one course in Epigraphy, it provided little of lasting value. With the discontinuance of the examinations, however, a reversion to a more fruitful method has of late become noticeable. There is less lecturing, and a direct topical method is more generally used. Students are put through large blocks of well-selected inscriptions in Dessau or the Corpus with a view to acquiring first hand knowledge of Roman life, religion, politics, economics, grammar, etc. The technique, instead of consuming all the time, is acquired by the way, with the aid perhaps of such reference books as Cagnat or Egbert's practical compendium.

Sandys' new manual ought to encourage this method, unless the misguided instructor simply adopts it as one more crib from which to draw notes for his lectures. The author himself gives the excellent advice that his book be used with Dessau and with Diehl's collection of facsimiles. Intending apparently to have it serve as a guide through some larger collection, rather than as an independent manual, he has provided relatively few inscriptions. Besides the illustrative examples, chosen with excellent judgment, and a few historical documents, he has given less than five pages of inscriptions, and he has selected these chiefly to give familiarity with abbreviations. The usual preliminary chapters on the Roman name, the cursus, and the titles of the emperors, that so often cool the ardor of the beginner, are here relegated to compact appendices. The important matter, introduced by a delightful chapter on "Latin Inscriptions in Classical Authors," is presented in an easy narrative which, with its apt illustrations drawn from literature and history, readily entices the reader on. The book is, therefore, especially to be

commended to students of Latin who have not had instruction in a formal course. It is not quite as full as Cagnat, but its 324 pages are concisely phrased, compactly printed, and treat briefly all the usual topics. Perhaps space has been saved to greatest detriment in the inadequate list of abbreviations. Since the book is light enough to carry in one's epigraphical rambles, a fuller list would have added to its value as a vade-mecum.

A few infelicities of statement, due chiefly to a desire for compression, may be noted. Grammarians will take exception to several inadequate statements on page 37, as for instance: "Long *i* was spelt *ei* in isolated examples in and after the age of Sulla," and "*au* for *o*, *oi* for *oe*, and *oe* and *ou* for *u*, are found, in general, in republican times." On p. 38 the inscription of the Praenestine fibula is not correctly reproduced. On p. 84, the Mindios tablet is filled out with the form *Va(lest)*. The inscription can hardly be old enough to justify this. P. 85, the propylum of Appius Claudius is attributed to "his sister's husband and son." Mommsen, however, seems to be right in saying that Claudius' adopted son and nephew are apparently the builders. P. 99, the form *armatei* seems incorrectly attributed to the *elogia* of Augustus' Forum. P. 104, the author adopts the traditional view that several inscriptions of the Augustan period are "archaic." It would be better with the knowledge now available to assume only that makers of monumental and legal inscriptions in general conserved an old style and morphology. P. 106, the date of Sulla's dictatorship should be given as 82-79. For the date of the different parts of Constantine's Arch (p. 127) see Frothingham's various articles in Am. Jour. Arch. 1914-15. P. 149, Vicarello is not strictly speaking in "Tuscany." P. 158, in speaking of the *lex metalli Vipascensis* a reference should be given to the new fragments reported in Rev. Arch. 1906, p. 480. P. 160, the famous *lex collegii sal. Diana et Antinoi* seems not to be a "municipal decree." P. 221, on the "Roman name" a reference should be given to Oxé's valuable article in Rhein. Mus. 1904, p. 28. The statement on p. 228 regarding Augustales is so brief that it will only mislead the reader: "the ordo Augustalis, dating from the time of Augustus, and consisting of six persons entrusted with the duty of providing entertainments at their own expense." Finally, the author's custom of filling out abbreviations in the same manner as he supplies missing portions leads to confusion at times. Misprints are of course rare. On page 149, the reference to Dessau should be 8562 not 8652, and the name Wilmanns—whose collection might well have been discarded for Dessau—is misspelled on p. 219.

TENNEY FRANK.

The New Greek Comedy, Κωμῳδία Νέα. By Ph. E. Legrand. Translated by JAMES LOEB, with an introduction by JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE. Pp. xix + 547. London, Heinemann; New York, Putnam, 1917. \$4.50.

In publishing this volume Mr. JAMES LOEB has further increased our debt of gratitude to him for his devotion to the cause of classical studies. His establishment of the Loeb Classical Library and his translation of important French works on the Greek drama in order to make them more accessible to English readers had already marked him as a good friend of the classics. To his excellent English versions of Decharme's *Euripide et l'Esprit de son Théâtre* and Maurice Croiset's *Aristophane et les Partis à Athènes* is now added a free, fluent and idiomatic translation of Legrand's scholarly and authoritative treatise on New Comedy, which was published in the *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, fascicule 22 (1910). Inasmuch, however, as the translator's purpose was to adapt the English version to general readers rather than to specialists, he asked the author to make such omissions as were necessary to this end, before the work of translation was begun. In pursuance of this suggestion Legrand left out long footnotes, unessential details, many illustrations of his statements, and a multitude of quotations in the French original, thus reducing its size by one-fourth.

The work of translation has been done so well, and the result is such readable English, that one hesitates to call attention to any slips, however small, lest he seem to detract from the high praise that is due. Yet mistakes are inevitable in so large a book. There is a wrong translation of *me tromper* on pp. 268 f., arising from the failure to recognize that the verb here is reflexive. It does not signify "to deceive me," but "to make a mistake." It occurs in the translation of Menand. Ἐπιτρ. 307, τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν μηδὲ ἐν προτέρᾳ λέγοντα, which is perfectly clear, and means "in order that I may not make a single mistake by speaking first." Legrand is hardly correct here in saying that the Greek sentence is clumsily constructed. On p. 334 *charcutier* "sausage-seller" is wrongly translated "charcoal-burner." In the form of the names Peisthetærus (p. 34) and Kallipos (p. 188) Mr. Loeb follows the MSS in opposition to all the editors as well as Legrand. Both forms are without parallels. Kallipos should be written Callippus, for Mr. Loeb consistently employs the Latinized forms of Greek proper names. The only exception observed is Asclepios on p. 377. Elenchus, too, might have been used in place of Elenchos (pp. 395 f.) Other slight mistakes in proper names occur in Aegistheus, p. 233, Gumnasticus, p. 188, Γραμματειδιάτοος, p. 440, and Συνεργαζόμενοι, p. 524. The proof-reading, though generally good, does not equal

that shown in the French original. The majority of the typographical errors are in Greek accents and breathings. Two errors of Legrand are repeated, viz., *Hermes*, 1900, p. 6239 (on p. 389), and  $\mu\acute{e}$  for  $\mu\eta$  in Ar. Ach. 112 quoted on p. 479. The slight importance of the things that are here criticized bears testimony to the high character of the translation.

The index compiled under the supervision of Professor Capps is a decided improvement on the French work which has none.

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CHARLES W. PEPPLER.

**Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities; Part I: Introductory; The Lithic Industries.** (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 60.) By W. H. HOLMES. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919. xvii, 380 pp., 222 figs.

Until very recently the teaching of Anthropology in our universities has been severely handicapped by the lack of suitable textbooks on the American field. The literature of the subject was scattered among more or less obscure periodicals in the form of short and usually highly technical papers on limited subjects. The same lack faced the layman in any attempt to gain a general acquaintance with American archaeology and ethnology. Within the last decade, however, there have appeared numerous handbooks by recognized authorities, accurate and complete enough to be of much service to the professional anthropologist, yet also suited to the needs of the college student and the general reader. The latest of these is the work under review, which is the first volume of a series designed "to assemble and present the antiquities of the Continent in such a manner and order as to make them readily available to the student." Further additions to the series are to be devoted to stone implements, sculpture, pottery, architecture and other manifestations of aboriginal American technology.

The present volume is introductory. To quote from the preface: "it deals with the scope of archaeological science, the character, extent, and classification of its subject matter, the progress of research; with the several important problems which present themselves for solution, including those of race-origin, migrations, culture evolution, and chronology; with the ethnic characterization areas; with the acquirement of the substances employed in the arts; and finally with the manipulation of stone."

After setting forth the aims and scope of Anthropology the author passes on to the question of the American race. It is shown that America can hardly have been the cradle of man-

kind, for no traces of geologically ancient man, such as have been found in many parts of the Old World, have ever come to light in the Western Hemisphere. The Indians, therefore, undoubtedly came from without; and, as the race is essentially a homogeneous one, does not show for example any signs of being a cross between any two of the great divisions of mankind such as white, yellow or black, it presumably came in from one direction. As the Indian race is physically most nearly allied to the peoples now inhabiting northeastern Asia, and as the most practical crossing-place between the Old and New Worlds is found at Bering Straits, the conclusion is that the Americas were peopled from that direction.

It is next shown that the incoming tribes must have been in a low state of culture because no other than primitive forms of native civilization have ever reached the shores of Bering Sea. Hence the great diversity of Indian cultures—ranging all the way from the lowest savagery in the case of the Seri of the Gulf of California to relatively high civilization among the Incas, Aztecs and Mayas—must have been produced after the arrival of the people in the Western Hemisphere. These and the multitude of intermediate cultures are of native growth uninfused, in all probability, from without.

At this point Professor HOLMES "hedges" a bit by pointing out a number of similarities between Old and New World cultures; and dwells rather too lovingly, it seems to the reviewer, upon the resemblances between the temples and sculptures of Central America and those of Cambodia, Java, and India. These particular resemblances are, of course, obvious and striking and have been used for many years by the romantic and unscientific as arguments for all sorts of theories as to prehistoric voyages and other improbable contacts. The analogies are, however, entirely superficial; this has been proved again and again, and it seems a pity that so persistent a popular fallacy should be given even negative encouragement by so prominent and, in other lines, so conservative an authority as Professor HOLMES.

On the question of the time of the advent of the Indians Professor HOLMES provides a very full discussion. He takes up and fully analyzes all the evidence which has so far been brought forward in support of the pre-glacial and glacial presence of man in America. The California finds, such as the famous "Calaveras skull"; the crude argillite implements from Trenton, N. J.; the "Lansing skull"; the South American pampas and cave discoveries, all of which have had in their day ardent supporters and wide newspaper publicity, are weighed one by one and found wanting in scientific conclusiveness. In this discussion Professor HOLMES is on very familiar ground, as he has for many years made it his particular task to investigate all finds attributed to early man in America. It must be admitted that

while he has been a harsh and at times even a seemingly biased critic of such finds, his position has been a sound one, and that the burden of proof still rests on the protagonists of early man. His conclusion is (p. 94) "that the continent was probably not reached and occupied until after the final retreat of the Glacial ice from middle North America."

In the second section of the book North, Middle and South America are divided into twenty-two geographic areas of "culture characterization." The archaeology of each one of these areas presents enough local peculiarities to separate it from its neighbors. The discussions of the areas are of necessity very brief, but enough data are given on the environment, resources and cultural characteristics of each to provide the general reader with a good bird's-eye view of the archaeology of the New World, and to supply the student or the curator with a very handy system of classification.

The third and fourth parts, comprising roughly the second half of the "Handbook," are devoted to a study of the acquisition of minerals by the Indians and the technique of their working of stone. In these sections Professor HOLMES, who is without doubt not only the dean but also the most profound student of technological Anthropology in the United States, has presented a wealth of information, a large part of it original. Of greatest interest are the descriptions of the quarries from which the aborigines extracted the hard stones for the manufacture of their arrow-points, knives and other chipped implements; the mines where they procured mica, native copper, turquoise and ochre-pigments; and the enormous works of the Central and South American peoples who cut the blocks of stone for their temples and monuments from the solid ledges. The vast extent of these undertakings, carried on without the use of explosives or even in most cases of metal tools, will prove a great surprise to the reader, and the numerous and very clear illustrations will serve to make the processes of work and the difficulties encountered by the workmen very graphic.

In the closing chapters are brought together all the available data on the actual manufacture of stone implements. In America alone has a stone age people survived to the present day, and this section is of particular value because it embodies so much material derived from observation, by the author and others, of actual work in stone as carried on by living Indians. There is also a mass of information gleaned from painstaking experiments in stone-working by Professor HOLMES himself. Archaeologists working in regions whose people have long since passed beyond the stone age will find in these chapters much to help them in interpreting the relics which they may uncover.

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A Structural and Lexical Comparison of the Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa Languages. By JOHN R. SWANTON. Bulletin 68 Bur. Am. Ethnology. 1919. Pp. 1-56.<sup>1</sup>

In this brief paper Dr. SWANTON first shows that all three languages share essentially the same speech-form; he next gives a comparative table of structural elements; thirdly, a comparative vocabulary follows; and, lastly, we have a list of the more important sound-shifts with examples. Dr. SWANTON comes to the inevitable conclusion that although Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa have hitherto been considered as independent stocks, they are in reality only widely divergent members of a single stock.

It is quite likely that on further investigation some of Dr. SWANTON's comparisons will be found not to be valid; but it is equally probable that others will have to be added. In short, enough material has been presented to substantiate his claims. As a model in method his volume should prove a wholesome lesson to a number of daring investigators.

I have refrained from detailed criticism as it is obviously uncalled for in a journal designed for the general philologist. At the same time it may be well to point out that many of the phonetic shifts which will seem so strange to the Indo-Europeanist, as a matter of fact have parallels within the dialects of other large American stocks. For example the interchange of l, r, y occurs in Algonquian and Siouan; n and l Algonquian, Wakashan, Uto-Aztecán; t and n Algonquian; m and w Eskimoan and Nadene (if this last be a single stock); the interchange of m and p has a close parallel (m and b) in Algonquian and Athabascan. It seems to me that Dr. SWANTON would have strengthened his case had he cited these parallels and others. However, this is a minor point so long as he has proved his thesis.

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Penobscot Transformer Tales, International Journal of American Linguistics, 1, pp. 187-244. 1918.<sup>1</sup>

The Penobscot texts contained in the above are the first to be recorded in that language, and all Americanists will thank DR. SPECK for his work as it will further comparative linguistic

<sup>1</sup> This review is printed with the permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

work. The texts are accompanied by interlinears and free translations, which give the professional Algonquianist a good control.

Grateful though we are for these Penobscot texts, it may be well to point out some of their short-comings. A study of the texts shows very clearly that the phonetic scheme used is not entirely satisfactory. If *a* and *e* are really distinct sounds (which I doubt), DR. SPECK should have been more discriminating in their use: as it is, they frequently interchange in the same morphological units under exactly the same conditions. Similarly, from the variants it seems quite clear that surd stops should be always aspirated terminally, and this is supported by the evidence of other Algonquian languages (e. g. Fox, Peoria, Potawatomi, etc.). Something similar must be the case regarding the variants -al, -al', -al. Such variants as *sank'hi*, *sakh(i)*, *sakh(i)*, "outside, exposed to view," [Fox *sägi-*], etc. are the ordinary kind made by most Americanists, and offer little trouble, but it may be pointed out that a careful analysis of texts and subsequent revision will eliminate many of them. But a careful analysis is just what is lacking in the present series of texts. For example in the third tale on the last line of the right-hand column of p. 192 *udi·da'men name's·əduk* is translated in the interlinear by "he said to the fishes," and somewhat similarly in the free translation. The vocative plural *name's·əduk* of course shows that the translation should be "he said, O fishes." In the same way, on the top of the right-hand column of p. 216, *se'ka·'wit* is translated "I conquer" on line 2, but "conquer me" on line 4. The final -it shows at once that 3d person animate singular is the subject and the 1st person singular the object. In short, DR. SPECK seems to have been dependent on his Indian informant, at least to a large extent, regarding grammatical forms. The same holds true apparently for the translation of individual words. For example *elkwe'-si·nan* "as you lie down" (223) and *e'lkwe'bi·lit* "facing in front of" (214) can not both be translated entirely correctly; and the last in any case is entirely too free for an interlinear: note *e·bit'* "sitting there" [Fox *äpit'A'* "he that is seated, sitting"] on the same page.

If then, on the whole, we can not help feeling that from a linguistic point of view the Penobscot texts are to a certain extent disappointing, we must also note that the interspersed notes on ethnological matters are of high value, and that the texts contain by far the best Penobscot folk-lore and mythology thus far published.

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#### CORRIGENDA.

On p. 181, read i'pa"owAgk' [for i'pa'owAgki']; netenäne'mäpenna' "we (exclusive) think of him, her, them (animate)"; ketenänemeneppna' "we think of you (sing. or plural)." —T. M.

